

THE ROLE OF SHĀH WALIY ALLAH
IN MUSLIM REVIVALISM
IN THE SUBCONTINENT OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

by .

Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been used:-

bh بھ	q ق	r ر	a ا
ph پھ	k ک	z ز	b ب
th تھ	l ل	s س	p پ
jh جھ	m م	sh ش	t ت
chh چھ	n ن	s ص	th ث
dh دھ	w و	d ذ	j ج
kh کھ	h ہ	t ط	ch چ
gh گھ	و	z ظ	h ح
	l ی	و	kh خ
	e ے	gh غ	d د
	ف	f ف	dh ذ

The short vowels have been transcribed as a, i, u; the long vowels as ā, ī, ū.

Words which have found their way into the English dictionary have not been transliterated.

Names of places have been transliterated in the manner in which they are familiar to the students of history and geography of the Subcontinent. Unfamiliar names have been transliterated. Uniformity has not been observed in the transliteration of the names of those persons who wrote them in English, e.g., Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi for Ishtiyāq Husayn Qurayshi, Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi for Mahmūd Ahmad Ghāzi etc.

Most familiar Arabic words such as Allah, Islam and Quran have also not been transliterated.

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INTRODUCTION

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Muslim community of the Sub-continent had a unique position as compared to Muslim communities in other non-Muslim majority areas. It had to sustain itself and to maintain its solidarity against heavy odds vis-à-vis the continuous, and at times rigorous, onslaughts of Hindu culture and civilization. Being the first and the last religion which kept its identity in the religio-mystic ocean of India for more than thirteen hundred years, Islam had been subjected to many individual and collective Hindu efforts of assimilation. Unlike other religious, cultural and ethnic groups that came to India during the course of history and submerged in the Brahmanic religio-cultural myths, the Muslim community successfully resisted the religious and cultural penetration of the Hindus which had always resulted in the total assimilation of the new comers.
(1)

This unique position necessitated in the first place that the Muslim masses should constantly remain watchful about their religious integrity because religion alone was their binding force. It was strictly the religious bond which could prevent spiritual and religious penetration of the Hāndās. In the beginning the Muslim community remained conscious of this delicate position. But with the expansion of Muslim administration and as a result of conflict between Taṣawwuf and Fiqh various heterodox ideologies crept into it. Taṣawwuf underwent a major transformation and under the influence of Hindu

mysticism quite a good number of Muslim Sufis adopted Hindu
(2)
doctrines and practices.

The Muslim community in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent was sustained by four bastions of power.

1. Rulers and the elite Class.
2. Ulema and Fuqahā:
3. Sufis.
4. Masses.

But seldom we see a complete coordination and understanding among these four. The relations between the ruling class and the Ulema remained most of the time uncordial. There had been a sort of misunderstanding in the minds of the rulers towards the Ulema. As between the Ulema and the Sufis there had been a constant conflict. This conflict outwardly seems to be on secondary and unimportant issues such as ^{Q.} Simā'. But inwardly the causes of the conflict were more basic and deep-rooted. The missionary work in the Sub-continent was mainly done by the Sufis and it was mostly in the wake of their work that Muslim administration was established. But after the administration was established it were, naturally, the Ulema and Fuqahā' who were assigned the duties of a Judge, a Mufti and a Muhtasib. They had to implement the laws of Islam in their letter and form while the Sufi emphasized the spirit and the content. The influence on judiciary and the related state machinery was mainly exercised by the Ulema while the influence on mass level was mainly exerted by the Sufis. The Sufis have mostly been indifferent towards the solidarity and integrity of the Ummah. Perhaps their missionary requirements did not allow them to be as rigid as the Fuqahā'. Their attitude towards Hinduism had,

to a great extent, been lenient. Their leniency vis-a-viz Hinduism gave rise to Sufis like Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth Gawālīārī, Shaykh Rīzq Allāh Muḥtāqī and Dārē Shikūh.

On the other hand the Ulema, though mindful of their delicate and intricate responsibility, largely derived their knowledge from works of Fiqh and Tafsīr written by jurists of Central Asia. The curriculum of education mainly consisted on commentaries, marginal notes and abridgements of the works mostly written after fourth century of Hīrah. One is simply amazed to see that perhaps there is no single Faqīh in the entire history of the Sub-continent (before Shāh Waliy Allāh) who has based his knowledge and study of Fiqh directly on the Holy Quran and the Sunnah. Even those who derived their knowledge of Fiqh from the major works on the subject produced during early four centuries of Hīrah are scanty in number. The natural corollary of this attitude was the traditional rigidity, intolerance and formalism of the Central Asian Fuqahā!

The academic relations of Muslim India with Central Asian scholarship had been established soon after the establishment of the Sultanate in Delhi. Soon the Sub-continent became one of the most powerful strongholds of the Hanafi jurisprudence. Although the Ghaznavids were Shāfi'is themselves but they did not affect the ascendancy of Hanafism. Quite a good number of the rulers of Delhi during the Sultanate period were themselves scholars of Hanafi jurisprudence or at least staunch supporters of Hanafi-oriented orthodoxy.

What about the Shafis in South India?

Muhammad Tughlaq is said to have made a thorough study of the celebrated Hanafi compendium, Hidayah. Two great and monumental works were compiled during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq: Fih-i-Firuz Shahi, a manual for the administration of state, and Fatawa Tatar Khaniyyah. But this could not affect the situation at large.

If 'Allamah Saqhani (d. 650 A.H.) and Mawlana Shams al-Din Turk had preferred to stay in India and had produced some deep and thorough scholars of Hadith there might have been some change in this situation. As late as in sixteenth century a glimpse of pleasant change is seen in the efforts of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi. Earlier the activities of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Muttaqi and his teacher Shaykh 'Ali al-Muttaqi had the potential to effect any good change. But their short stay in India was mainly preoccupied with their efforts, mostly unwarranted, against Mahdi Jampurī.

But the masses in general and the rulers in particular had more cordial and closer relations with the Sufis than with the Ulema. The respect and veneration enjoyed by the Sufis on popular level was unthinkable for the Ulema. The vast and huge circles of adherents gathered around such great luminaries of Tasawwuf as Khwajah Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Khwajah Nizam al-Din Awliya' and Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi were hundred or even thousand times larger in number than the circle of students gathered around equally great luminaries of scholarship such as Imam Hasan al-Saqhani, Mawlana Kamal al-Din Zahid and Mawlana Shams al-Din Yahya. Perhaps Shah 'Abd al-Aziz is the only scholar in the entire history of the Sub-continent whose circle of students was equal to

this is centuries later!

the largest circle ever attracted by a Sufi. But since Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was equally a great Sufi it is difficult to determine whether he attracted that large number of adherents as a scholar or as Sufi. With this position of the Sufis in view the responsibilities of the Sufis were greater than the Ulema. But curiously enough it were not the Sufis but the Ulema who had always been in the forefront of every movement against heretic and heterodox elements. As far as the masses are concerned they had also no direct and close relations with the Ulema. After the Sufis it were the rulers who received their respect and attention.

The Muslim history of the Sub-continent can roughly be divided into six periods; each period has some distinct characteristics. The Sindhi period starts from Muḥammad ibn Qāsim's conquest of Sind and lasts till the emergence of Ghaznawids on the scene. Its salient feature was its Arabic character and classical Islamic pattern. Academic relations in this period were mainly with the Middle Eastern Centers of ~~learning~~ learning such as Mecca, Medina, Damascus and Baghdad. There was no conspicuous and notable activity of mysticism nor there were the problems that resulted later on from the currency of mysticism such as the conflict between Taṣawwuf and Fiqh. The second period, the Sultanate period, started with the establishment of Muslim administration in Delhi at the hands of Quṭb al-Dīn Aiybak and lasted till the downfall of the Lodis at the hands of Bābar. Its salient feature was the rise of the Chishtī order of Taṣawwuf and its impact upon the state and society. With the consolidation of Muslim administration

cause
from was
ill deve-
opment!

What about
the Suhrawardy?

the signs of the conflict between Fiqh and Taṣawwuf began to emerge; the conflict reached its climax by the days of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and Qāḍī Diyā' al-Dīn Sanāmi. During this period the four bastions of the power and sustenance of Muslim community emerged: the rulers, the Ulema or Fuqahā', the Sufis and the masses. By the end of this period, ^{the} Bhakti movement and its results emerged on the surface. This movement aimed at the spiritual penetration of the Hindus in Islam. The academic relations in this period were mainly with Central Asia.

The Early Mughal period (1526-1707) was characterized ^{by} with the vigorous reaction against the Bhakti movement and the heresies resulted from it. The reaction was led by Naqshbandis. In this period the conflict between Fiqh and Taṣawwuf smoothed down and a process of reconciliation between the two started. It also saw a renaissance of Islamic sciences and of puritan Islamic thought at the hand of giants like the Mufaddid, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, Shaykh 'Alī al-Muttaqī, Shaykh Ishir Pattani and others. The academic relations during this period were more with the Hijaz than with Central Asia. This renaissance of Islamic Sciences also resulted in the surrender of Cyncretic and heretic Taṣawwuf to Islamic puritanism and a process of unity between Taṣawwuf and Fiqh began on academic level.

The later Mughal period (1707-1857) saw the disintegration of Muslim community and the downfall of Muslim rule in India. Problems during this period were mainly political. Thinking Muslims began to feel the need of a general Islamic renaissance

for which the unity and the integrity of the Ummah was the first pre-requisite, That is why we see the process of the amalgamation of various Sufi orders so that a truly Islamic Tasawwuf saturated with puritan Islamic teachings could emerge. This period is also characterized by the mass educational movement and the general intellectual renaissance initiated, organized and conducted by Shāh Waliy Allah and his followers. This movement also led the socio-political re-organization of the Muslim community.

The ^{British} English period (1857-1947) saw different efforts of reintegrating Muslim community in new situation. An altogether new intellectual situation arose in which the foremost thing was the formation of a Muslim outlook and attitude towards Western culture and civilization. Different, and almost conflicting, solutions were suggested which added to the mass of problems. It were the results of the work done by intellectual luminaries, like Amīr 'Alī, Shibli, Akbar and Iqbal which at last contributed to the crystallization of Muslim outlook in this regard. The sixth and the current period may be called an age of reconstruction.

In the next chapter a brief historical survey of first three periods has been given so that a clear understanding and true appreciation of the background against which Shāh Waliy Allah worked may be possible.

Shāh Waliy Allāh is, perhaps, the greatest Muslim scholar produced by Muslim India. He left the deepest and widest possible impact over the subsequent generations. He has rightly been considered by Freeland Abbot a link between the medieval and the modern. He is the initiator of what may be called Islamic modernism. He is often compared with the Arabian revivalist, Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and points of similarity between the two are often searched. But while there are some points of similarity between the two there are some, equally important, points of differences as well. No doubt, both of them were highly impressed by Ibn Taymiyyah. The works of Shāh Waliy Allāh contain long extracts from Ibn Taymiyyah. Muḥammad Uways Nadawi has pointed out in Shāh Waliy Allāh's Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah to the passages taken from Ibn Taymiyyah.³⁾ According to Mawlānā 'Ubeyd Allāh Sindhi, Shāh Waliy Allāh benefited from the works of Ibn Taymiyyah present in the personal collection of Shaykh Abū Tāhir al-Kurdi.⁴⁾ He might have taken necessary notes from these works. Some important issues discussed by Shāh Waliy Allāh in his Izālat al-Khifa seem to have been taken from the celebrated work of Ibn Taymiyyah, Minhāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah.⁵⁾

But while Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb is an extension of the religious doctrine of Ibn Taymiyyah, Shāh Waliy Allāh is the continuation of the Mujaddid. He considers the Mujaddid the irhāṣ of his movement; he completed the work initiated by the Mujaddid.⁶⁾ By irhāṣ Shāh Waliy Allāh means one who p-aves the way and makes the spade work. It is a happy coincidence that both the Mujaddid and Shāh Waliy Allāh trace their

and had the same teacher in Mecca!

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geneology to 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb. The Mufaddid diverted the course of history from heterodoxy to orthodoxy while Shāh Waliy Allah saved the Ummah from the religio-social downfall which would come in the wake of political downfall.

Shāh Waliy Allah conceived an all-pervasive revolution which would completely root out the evils from the individual and collective spheres of life and would rebuild the socio-political life on the basis of Islam. In a vision when he asked the angels about the possible solution of the maladies of the Ummah he received the famous reply: **فك كل نظام** To destroy all existing systems. This reminds one the well-known couplet of Iqbal:

گفتند که جهان ما آیا تویی سازد گفتم که نمی سازد گفتند که بر هم زن

They (the angels) asked me: Does this world of ours suit you? I said: it does not suit (my ideals)'.
(8)
They said: 'then destroy it'.

Shāh Waliy Allah not only criticized the old notions and practices but also suggested new solutions for the future problems. He foresaw that his age would usher in a new era in which the Muslim world would face new and more complicated problems. In a vision he saw that he would not only be an intellectual purgatory between old and new intellectual worlds but he would also be a means for the formation of new world-order; his ideas would provide the basis for new religious, political and social philosophies, his circle would prove the seeds which would grow into many an independent reform and revivalist movement in religious, political, social

and education fields. He was the father of all subsequent Islamic education in the sub-continent. The major educational institutions and personalities of the Muslim Sub-continent during last two hundred years all trace their origin in one way or the other to Madrasah Rahimiyyah. The three mother educational institutions of Muslim India, i.e. Dār al-'Ulūm Daoband, Nadwat al-'Ulamā' Lucknow, and Muslim University Aligarh, were founded by scholars who belonged to Waliy Allahi tradition.

The study of Shāh Waliy Allah and specially of his role in our religio-academic and intellectual renaissance is very relevant for Pakistani scholarship. He himself and the vast circle of his direct and indirect disciples saved the Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent from total surrender before Hinduism first spiritually and religiously and then politically and physically. He clearly warned the Muslims of the Sub-continent that they should always treat themselves as culturally out-landish (Gharīb) in India and should never allow the cultural patterns and social customs of the Hindus to penetrate them. It was basically for the protection of Muslim culture and civilization that the need for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India was felt. *Don't let them down!*

It will be interesting to learn that Shāh Waliy Allah had anticipated the possibility of Hindu domination over the major parts of India. But he did not think that Hindus would be able to run the affairs of state on the basis of pure Hinduism. Perhaps in view of his deep study of Hinduism and past history of the

Hindus he thought that Hindu philosophy was incapable of providing any guidance in statescraft. He thought that in case the Hindus acquired general and permanent ascendancy in the Sub-continent, they would follow the example of the Turks and God's wisdom must inspire them to adopt Islam as their way of

(10) life. Shall we hope that the expectations of Shāh Waliy Allah will be fulfilled in the context of present day secular India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan too?

*This is what
nobody
ever
knew!*

It is strange that in spite of the bulky literature available on Shāh Waliy Allah in Urdu and English, no serious attempt has yet been made to assess his real contribution in the religio-political revivalism of the Muslim community in the Sub-continent. The literature produced so far mostly provides departmentalized studies of the various aspects of his thought. A systematic and historical analysis of his over-all revivalism had so far been made only by the foremost and renowned Pakistani historian, Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi in his Ulama in Politics.⁽¹¹⁾ But since the book covers a big horizon of about four hundred years it could allocate only one chapter to Shah Waliy Allah. And again, the work mainly deals with the role of Ulama in Muslim politics. Its relevant chapter briefly discusses the role of Shāh Waliy Allah in his contemporary politics. It does not trace the influence of Shāh Waliy Allah on subsequent religious, political and educational movements. Another work which claims to have dealt with the political movement of Shāh Waliy Allah is 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi's Shāh Waliy Allah Aur Unki Siyāsi Tahrīk.⁽¹²⁾ But in the first place this book deals only with the political

aspects of the movement; secondly, many an interpretation presented in this book is either absolutely unfounded or not duly supported by historical evidence. It seems that the learned author had some prejudicial commitments against certain personalities. He, therefore, consciously or unconsciously interpreted the events in such a way as to demolish the prestige of his person ⁱⁿ grata. The present writer has, however, greatly benefited by 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi's valuable work on the philosophy and thought^t of Shāh Waliy Allah. His extra-ordinary command over the works of Shāh Waliy Allah cannot be questioned.

The present work is an effort to make a systematic and historical enquiry of Shāh Waliy Allah's work in the field of Islamic revivalism. First of all a brief historical survey of pre-Waliy Allahian period has been made; an analysis has also been made of the problems that faced the Muslim community during that period and of various efforts to solve those problems. After throwing some light on the life and times of Shāh Waliy Allah his political role has been discussed in full details. Abundant light has been thrown on his role in the battle of Panipat. A critical review of his political letters has also been made along with quoting in English translation some selected and more important letters. An independent chapter has been allocated to the socio-political thought of Shāh Waliy Allah. Shāh Waliy Allah's impact on some more important religious and political movements has been traced.

It has been established with abundant historical evidence that Shāh Waliy Allah's influences played an utmost important role not only in preparing the ground for the emergence of these movements but also in manning and successfully running them. And lastly, Shāh Waliy Allah's tremendous impact on Islamic education during last two centuries has been thoroughly discussed.

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FOOTNOTES

1. This fact has been admitted by the Hindu historians as well. The authors of An Advanced History of India say:
"So immense was the assimilative potentiality of the old Indian civilization that the earlier invaders of this country, the Greeks, the Sakas and the Huns, were within the fold of her population and completely lost their identity. But -- it did not happen so with the Turk-Afghan invaders of India. In the wake of Muslim invasion, definite social and religious ~~wakak~~ ideas, which differed fundamentally from those of Hindustan entered into this country and a perfect absorption of the invaders by the original inhabitants could not be possible". R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychandhuri and Kalikinkar Datta, An Advanced History of India, London, 1961, pp. 400-401 ff.
2. For a fuller discussion on the subject, Qureshi, Ishtiaq Husain, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, S. Gravenhage, 1962, Chapters V, VI.
3. Al-Furqan, Special number on Shāh Waliy Allah, Bareilly, 1941, pp. 372-373.
4. 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Shāh Waliy Allah Aur Unki Siyasi Tahrir, Lahore 1965, pp. 92-93.
5. Ibid. p. 93.
6. Ibid. p. 96-97.
7. Forty-Fourth Vision in Fuyūd al-Haramayn
8. Muhammad Iqbal, Zabūr-i-'Alam, Lahore, 1948, Fourth edition, p. 106.

9. Shāh Waliy Allah, Wasīyyat Nāmāh, Lucknow, 1257 A.H., p. 8.
10. Shāh Waliy Allah, Iafhīmāt-i-Ilāhiyyah, Bijnor, 1936, Vol.I, p. 203.
11. Qureshi, Ishtiaq Husain, Ulama in Politics, Karachi, 1972, Second edition 1974.
12. 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, op. cit.

PART - ONE

BACKGROUND

THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN THE SUBCONTINENT
_____A Brief Historical Survey_____

It is generally believed that the first contact of Islam with the Sub-continent took place in 92 A.R. with Muḥammad ibn Qāsim's expedition against Dāhir. But abundant historical evidence proves that the history of this contact goes as back as the early days of the Caliph 'Umar. The Arabs had their close commercial relations with South West India long before the advent of the Holy Prophet; they had their trade settlements scattered on the southern coast of India (1) with the conversion of Arabia to Islam these settlements turned into centers of preaching and missionary activities. The influence of Islam continued to expand during subsequent centuries. Muslim traders and missionaries had no political ends and their relations with the local rulers and the local masses remained always cordial and friendly. There arose certain occasions when armed conflict between the Muslim empire and the Indian chiefs seemed to become inevitable but the Caliph 'Umar had already adopted a strict policy not to launch any offensive outside the vicinity of Arabia. (2)

It was as late as during 90s that the Muslim administration had to change its policy towards India. Some minor skirmishes took place in quick succession. (3) Finally in Ramaḍān 93 A.H., Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf sent an expedition under Muḥammad ibn Qāsim who dawned the formal Islamic era in the history of the Sub-continent. Sind and Multan were conquered and annexed to the Muslim empire.

*this is not a
transitive vb.*

The Muslim conquest of Sind left a tremendous impact upon the religious and social life of the local people. At the time of Muslim conquest Buddhism and Brahminism were the two dominant religions of Sind. The emergence of Muslim rule in the area was preceded by a long struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism from which Brahminism was coming out victorious. ^aChach, the founder of the dynasty to which Dāhir belonged was not only a Hindu but also claimed to be a scholar of Hindu religious scriptures. ⁽⁴⁾ The losing position of the Buddhists had ⁽⁵⁾ induced them to render full support to the Muslim army. The Buddhist antipathy for the Hindus and their all-out support to Muslim administration did, naturally, pave the way for the propagation of Islam. Several local chiefs embraced Islam along with their followers. A Hindu raja embraced Islam on the ⁽⁶⁾ persuasion of some Muslim traders. Another Hindu raja is ^{have} reported to get the Holy Quran translated into his language by a local Muslim scholar. ⁽⁷⁾ ⁽⁸⁾ Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz issued personal invitations to local chiefs and princes to enter the brotherhood of Islam. These appeals produced marvellous results and a large number of influential people ⁽¹⁰⁾ embraced Islam including prince Jaya Singh, the son of ⁽¹¹⁾ Raja Dāhir.

The annexation of Sind and Multan was completed before the close of first century of Hijrah at the hands of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim. For more than one hundred years the country remained a province of caliphates of Damascus and Baghdad. During the days of the Abbasid governor, 'Umar ibn Hafs, some Shī'ah and

Khariji missionaries came to Sind to propagate their ideas. But since the governor had a soft corner for the Shi'ahs, the Kharijis saw no future for them in this area and they preferred to return back. The Shi'i preacher, 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad worked under the patronage of 'Umar ibn Hafṣ and left lasting effects. (12)

'Umar's period was followed by successive changes in the local administration which resulted in disorder, chaos and sometimes in civil wars. (13)

In 249 A.H./854 A.D. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Habbāri, chief of an Arab tribe settled in Sind, was succeeded in getting appointment as the governor of Sind. He laid the foundation of the Habbāri dynasty which ruled over Sind for about two hundred and fifty years. He built his capital near Manṣūrah, the first Muslim township in Sind. His son and successor, 'Abd Allah, further expanded and strengthened his kingdom. By this time the Arabic language had become common in Sind; the elite and the educated class knew Arabic. Trade through land and sea routes also flourished. Khuṭbah was regularly read in the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs. During the Habbāri period a number of Arab travellers visited the country and recorded their observations. The impact of the Arabs manifested in the cultural patterns of the local population. The Habbāris also did great services for the propagation of Islam. They got several books written on Islam in local vernacular. (15)

The establishment of Muslim kingdoms in Sind left lasting effects. The attitude of new rulers was altogether different from earlier conquerors. They not only established law and order and

provided peace to the masses but also introduced certain social and political reforms. They gave full civil and human rights to all their citizens irrespective of their religion or race. Disputes of the Muslims were adjudicated according to the Shari'ah. The Hindus had the right to adjudicate their matters according to their own Shāstra. The Hindu temples were respected as the Christian churches and Jewish ^{synagogues} kenessets were respected in Syria and Egypt. (16)

By the end of fourth century of Hijrah the Ismā'īlīs gained power in Multan and some parts of Sind. They had started their underground propaganda in 270 A.H./883 A.D. After a century work they were able to prepare some ground for themselves. In 386 A.H./996 A.D. the Fātimid caliph of Egypt, 'Azīz Billah, sent an expedition under Jalām ibn Shaybān who established the first Ismā'īlī rule in the Subcontinent. He annexed his kingdom with the Fātimid caliphate of Egypt. Their power lasted for about one century. When their last ruler Abu'l Futūh Dī'ud made alliance with the Hindu raja of Lahore against Mahmūd Ghaznawī the latter ⁷ had to give successive crushing blows to the Ismā'īlīs in 401-419 A.H./1010-1025 A.D. They were eventually brought to an end by Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghawri. (17)

The influences of Islam had also started to pass from Sind and Multan to east and south onwards even during late seventh century A.D. Muslim traders used to travel the area and take with them the message of Islam. Sometimes between 218 A.H. and 227 A.H. (833 A.D. — 842 A.D.) the raja of Asīwān, several hundred miles from Delhi in present Punjab or N.W.F.P. of —

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Pakistan, embraced Islam. His son had died in spite of the prayers and prophesies of Hindu priests. This turned him back from Hinduism. (18) In Gujrat and Bombay also a number of peaceful Muslim settlements existed as early as late third century A.H. (19) They had their own judicial system and run their mosques themselves. (20)

Further expansion in Muslim administration was made through the historic Khybar pass in late fourth and early fifth centuries of Hijrah. This task was taken up by Mahmūd Ghaznawi who ascended the throne of Ghazni in 387 A.H./997 A.D. Ghazni was at that time a small state covering some districts of present Afghanistan. The rulers of Ghazni had a long conflict with a Hindu raja of Punjab, Jayapal. This conflict had resulted into several battles. Mahmūd inherited this conflict also. The first task he had to take up after assuming power was to integrate his dominions by preventing the possibility of any aggression from the Hindus. Mahmūd's campaigns around the river Indus accelerated the process of the integration of the scattered Muslim ^{Y. pockets} brackets into a single community. His campaigns against the Hindu-Islāmī alliance also contributed to the strengthening of orthodoxy and the frustration of heterodoxy within the emerging Muslim community. Mahmūd Ghaznawi led seventeen attacks on India. His last major and most famous invasion was against Somnāth—a fortified Hindu temple on the sea-shore of Kathiawar. The fall of Somnāth completely demoralized the Hindu forces and gave the Muslims a lasting national pride.

But inspite his historic and successive victories, Mahmūd's era could not usher in the establishment of a strong and stable Muslim government in India. The Ghaznawids ruled for more than one and a half century. They made a good contribution to the development of Islamic sciences and culture. They were great patrons of arts and culture. Mahmūd was himself a good scholar of Fiqh, Hadīth and Poetry. (21) It was during the Ghaznawid period that the first organized missionary work in Northern India was started mainly at the hands of the Chishti sufis. A Chishti saint, Khwājah Abū Muḥammad ibn Abū Aḥmad Chishti (22) accompanied Mahmūd Ghaznawi to India. Some decades later, Khwājah Abū Muḥammad was followed by Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishti who settled in Ajmer, which was a strong center of both the Rajput ruler and the Hindu religion. The Khwājah devoted his life to the propagation of Islam. His influences penetrated the highest classes of Hindu society. A close courtier of Parthawirāj, the ruler of the area, also embraced Islam and entered into his discipleship. (23)

The first Muslim ruler to establish a stable and permanent Muslim rule in the Subcontinent was Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghawri. He ascended the throne and soon devoted himself to exterminate the Qarmatian heterodoxy from India and to strengthen orthodoxy by establishing the permanent Muslim administration in the Subcontinent. By this time the Qarmatians had again gained foothold in Multan by exploiting the degenerating conditions of law and order during the last days of the Ghaznawids. By 571 A.H. 1175 A.D. Muḥammad Ghawri was able to overrun Sind and Multan and

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to destroy the power of the ²⁴Qarnatians. After a long struggle of about twenty five years Sultan Muhammad Ghawri succeeded in his second mission as well. In April 1198 A.D./Jumāda al-Thāni 595 A.H. he entered Delhi triumphantly and made it the capital of Muslim India. His able viceroy in India, Qutb al-Dīn Aybak extended the frontiers of Dār al-Islām gradually from Lahore to Benares and finally from Peshawar to Bengal. (24)

Qutb al-Dīn Aybak consolidated the foundation of Muslim empire in the Subcontinent. He evolved the structure of Muslim government on the basis of Islam. Islamic orders according to Hanafi jurisprudence were enforced and irreligious customs were suppressed. (25) His Islamic reforms won him great acclaim among his contemporaries who hailed him as a true follower of Khulafā-i- (26) Rāshidīn. Aybak always tried to acquire the services of the ablest and most learned men of his time. He also offered the office of judge of Lahore to Imām Hasan al-Ṣaghānī, the celebrated (27) muḥaddith and linguist. Qutb al-Dīn Aybak considered his dominions only a part of the vast Muslim empire. He exercised authority on behalf of the 'Abbassid caliph whose formal commission (28) of appointment was always received with great jublations. His able successor, Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (ascended the throne in 607 A.H./1210 A.D.) not only continued the Islamic policies of his predecessor but also added a great deal to them. His deep religious character also deepened the the Islamic colour of (29) Muslim administration under him. Iltutmish was a good scholar of Islamic sciences and an accomplished sufi. He had the privilege of being initiated into Sufi way by the most celebrated divine of his time Khawājah Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. (30)

What about
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Sultan Shams al-Din Ilutmish started the tradition of holding academic and religious meetings in which notable scholars were invited to discuss the Islamic concepts of state and government. Such meetings greatly contributed to the uplift of Islamic values in the circles of the elite and the state functionaries. (31) In these meetings scholars and divines freely expressed their views and often admonished the Sultan. (32)

The reign of Ilutmish saw the emergence of intellectual disagreement between the Fuqahā' and the Sufis. For the first time in the history of Muslim India we see the ulema and the sufis busy in hot discussions on the points of disagreement (33). Such differences of opinion gradually developed into conflicts and not only created a rift between these two pillars of the Muslim community but caused many a social, religious and intellectual problem for Muslim India. However, ~~the~~ Ilutmish's reign was, perhaps, the climax of the domination and prestige of the Sufis. *They just began to come to India*

The death of Ilutmish in 633 A.H./1236 was followed by three decades of disorder. A group of Hindu insurgents had the courage to kill Sultānah-Raḍīyyah. The disorder was finally put to end by the accession of the able and strong Sultan Ghāyāth al-Dīn Balban in 664 A.H./1265 A.D. He took strict and effective measures to strengthen both the army and the civil administration (34) which produced a discouraging effect upon the Mongols. India was the only Muslim country of Asia which successfully saved itself from the rising Mongol tide. Balban's greatness becomes more conspicuous when we see the prevailing decay and degeneration

in the Muslim world. His accession ushered in a general uplift of public morality and the observance of Islamic values. His period has been assessed by Mawlaṇa Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī as Khayr A'ṣār or the best of reigns. (35) Balban was himself a very pious and practising Muslim. His piety was appreciated among the circles of saints and sufis. (37) He was very fond of meetings with the scholars and the ulema. His court was always full of eminent scholars. Very often he paid humble visits to the scholars and saints. His visits to Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar are well-known. (38)

The Balbanic period saw the emigration to India of a number of Muslim scholars from different Muslim countries. The great political upheaval and social instability which followed the fall of Baghdad in 656 A.H./1258 impelled a number of Muslim families of central Asia, Iraq, Syria and Iran to migrate from their homelands to comparatively safer places. The families of scholars and other men of note were in the forefront of this migration. Among these migrants Mawlaṇa Burhān al-Dīn Balkhī deserves special mention. He was a good scholar and an accomplished sufi. He was a student of the celebrated Hanafi jurist, Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī, the author of the well-known compendium of Hanafi Fiqh, Al-Hidāyah. He had also learnt the Ḥadīth from the well-known Muḥaddith of the Subcontinent, Imām Ḥasan Ṣaghānī. (39) Other scholars included Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Dimishqī, a disciple of Imām Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī. (40)

The strict observance of Islamic moral code introduced by Balban was soon let loose by his in-efficient successor. Kayqubād's effeminate and luxurious life encouraged even some of the scholars and Ulema to give up the observance of religious injunctions and to indulge in merry-making. (41) Some of the Ulema even went further and gave the ruling that the Sultan did not need to observe the injunction of the Sharī'ah. (42) Khalliq Nizāmi cites the incidence of one Husām Darwīsh who was a very popular preacher of Delhi but he joined the court of Kayqubād and fell to the lowest standard of morality to please the monarch. (43)

Kayqubād's instable rule was followed by a tussle for power among the nobles from which the Khiljis came out successful. An able and experienced Khilji noble, Jalāl al-Dīn, 70, ascended the throne laying the foundation of Khilji dynasty. The establishment of Khilji dynasty resulted in certain far-reaching socio-political developments in Muslim state and society. Previously, the Delhi Sultanate was sustained and, to a large extent, manned by Muslim aristocracy of Turkish origin. The rise of the Khiljis put an end to their monopoly on power and gave share to local Muslims as well. The social change resulted by the rise of the Khiljis and by centuries old missionary work of Ulema and the sufis enabled the Muslim administration of Delhi to take some major steps. The conquests in political and spiritual fields in the South were only possible due to this basic social change. Jalāl al-Dīn Khilji's Islamic administration corrected a number of un-Islamic practices of Kayqubād. The

historian Barani speaks very highly about Jalāl-al-Dīn's Islamic character and devotes many pages to portray the Islamic atmosphere during his reign. (44) Whenever his associates advised him something contrary to the spirit of Islam he rejected the advice and said he wanted to follow the examples of the Holy Prophet not the examples of Pharaohs and the tyrants, (45) But Jalāl-al-Dīn's mildness encouraged a number of conspiracies. A joint plot is said to have been prepared by a group of Hindu and Muslim conspirators. They made an Arab saint settled in Delhi, Syaid Mawlā, as their chief and planned to install him as Caliph. The scheme was, however, discovered and frustrated (46) by the monarch.

A group of influential Khilji nobles was not pleased with the mildness and forgiveness of Jalāl al-Dīn. They wanted stern and ruthless measures. They planned a coup d' etat against the Sultan in which Jalāl al-Dīn was killed and 'Alā' al-Dīn Khilji ascended the throne. He was just an antithesis of his predecessor and dealt with his political opponents very ruthlessly. He proved to be one of the most efficient and strongest rulers of Muslim India. He expanded the frontiers of the Sultanate and led many expeditions. His expedition against Devagiri has been hailed as one of the boldest military ventures in history. (47) His commanders also successfully dealt with the Mongols.

In some respects 'Alā' al-Dīn Khilji seems to resemble the great Mughal emperor, Akbar. Both of them were undisciplined by any formal education. Barani reports that 'Alā' al-Dīn also (48) cherished the idea of founding a new religion. If this statement

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is true, was the Sultan motivated with the same political interests which later on encouraged his Mughal counterpart to form his cult the Dīn-i-Ilāhī? Or, as suggested by Nizāmi, he only wished his authority to prevail every sphere of human life? (49) But unlike Akbar he soon gave up the idea and lived his life as an orthodox Muslim. He implemented a number of social, administrative and economic reforms. (50) But unfortunately 'Alā' al-Dīn's successor, Mubārak Khiljī, possessed only juxtaposed qualities. His short reign was characterised by luxury and moral looseness. (51) His court was full of loose women, jesters and buffoons. He was soon killed by his favourite courtier, Khusraw Khān who not only accelerated the immoral tempo but also adopted a highly anti-Muslim and pro-Hindu policy. In him the Hindus for the first time found a leader which would threaten the Muslim empire and the Muslim community. But soon the Muslim masses and the nobles rose against him under the leadership of Ghāzi Malik and put an end to Khusraw Khān. Ghāzi Malik was persuaded to ascend the throne as Ghayāth al-Dīn Tughlaq. (52)

The accession of Ghayāth al-Dīn Tughlaq put an end to the anti-Islamic forces which tried to undermine the Muslim community of the Subcontinent. Historians have recorded Ghayāth al-Dīn's deep affiliation to Islam, his sense of justice and his successful efforts to reinstate orthodoxy. (53) His reinforcement of orthodoxy and his campaigns against the Hindu-oriented Khusraw Khān found their similarities later on in seventeenth century in Aurangzeb's campaigns against Dārē Shikūh and in his reinforcement of orthodoxy. Another point of similarity between

the two is their emphasis on Fiqh. Their orthodoxy was more Fiqh- oriented as compared to the orthodoxy of Ilutmish, Balban and Jalāl-Dīn Khiljī which was sufi-oriented.

The rise of the Tughlaqs brought in its wake the increase in the influence of Fuqahā' and the Ulema. Ghayāth al-Dīn Tughlaq (54) gave great importance and precedence to Fuqahā' over the sufis. This period can rightly be called as the period of Fiqh. Two well-known works on Fiqh were compiled during this period: Fiqh-i-Feroz Shāhī and Fatāwā Tātārkhāniyyah; this latter was compiled by a noble of Feroz Shāh's court Khān-i-A'zam Tātār Khān. Even the mystics also began to move their attention to Fiqh. A disciple of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn composed a Mathnawī, Juhafat al-Fuqahā' which ran into thirty thousand lines. (55) It was perhaps due to the clear leanings of Ghayāth al-Dīn Tughlaq and his successors to Fiqh that friendly relations between the monarch and the sufis could not be maintained. The first sign of dissention and mutual disapproval came to the surface when Ghayāth al-Dīn called for a Maḥḍar against Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' on the issue of alimā'. Although some of the Fuqahā' tried to exploit the occasion to tease the Khwājah but the Sultan declined to take any decision on the issue. (56)

Sultan Ghayāth al-Dīn Tughlaq was succeeded by his very able, doughty and resolute son Muḥammad Tughlaq who in many respects resembles the great 'Abbassid Caliph Māmūn al-Rashīd. He was a good scholar of Fiqh, logic, mathematics and philosophy. He was a good conversationist, very intelligent and circumspect

either
Herin or
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with an extra-ordinary creative mind. Moreover, he was ^avery pious and practising Muslim. (57) He revived the strict observance of Islamic moral code and tightened the institution of Ihtisāb. His great interest in Fiqh gave more popularity to Fiqh and, naturally, more rise to the Fuqahā'. A large number of works on Fiqh were prepared. (58) The Court of the Sultan was full of Fuqahā' and he always tried to persuade scholars of Fiqh to come to India. He sent deputations to the Fuqahā' outside India inviting them to migrate to the Subcontinent. (59) He is reported to have gathered two hundred jurists in his court and he used to consult matters with them. (60)

The rise of Fiqh during the Iughlaq period must have contributed a good deal in bringing the two parallel streams of Fuqahā' and the Şūfiyyah closer to each other. Had the highly pro-Işāwawuf policy of Ilutmish days continued the result would have been a total sack of Fiqh and complete domination of mysticism which was totally unable to preserve the integrity of the Muslim community in India. It was the oft-criticised obstinate and uncompromising attitude of the Fuqahā' which could maintain the integrity of the Muslim community against heaviest odds. On the other hand, the role of the sufis has been mainly that of the preachers and missionaries of Islam. It was, therefore, in the vital interest of the Muslim community that both these parallel streams should not only equally prosper but should also develop a mutual coordination which may ultimately lead to the synthesization of both.

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Muhammad Tughlaq was succeeded by one of the most pious and religious-minded Sultans of the Indian history Firoz Shāh Tughlaq. His godliness was hailed by many of his contemporary mystics. (61) The historian and political thinker, Qiyā' al-Dīn Barani gives him the highest position among the Sultans of Delhi for his orthodoxy, religious puritanism and following the commandments of the Shari'ah. (62) But it is to be noted that by that time the Muslim administration of Delhi had reached its saturation point from where it had to degenerate. Professor Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmi has noticed the pessimistic flavour of the contemporary literature and wondered how inspite of the economic well-being of the masses the pessimistic attitude grew up. (63)

The somewhat extreme pro-Fiqh policy adopted by Muhammad Tughlaq was now replaced by a moderate attitude of Firoz Shāh towards Fiqh and Isha'wuf. The revival of Fiqh started in early Tughlaq period, however, continued. The monarch himself was not only a good and thorough scholar of Fiqh but also took keen interest in the dissemination of Fiqhi sciences. He is reported (64) to have full mastery over the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence. He changed the policy of his predecessors towards mysticism and tried to revive the position of the sufis. He allotted lands to various sufi circles to meet the expenses of their activities. (65) He himself also had strong sufi leanings. He often paid visits to different saints and mystic circle of Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Ajodhani. (67)

39!

The death of Fīroz Shāh in 790 A.H./1388 A.D. ushered in an unprecedented anarchy, chaos and disorder. His successors were totally inefficient; they not only deprived the dynasty of power but also destroyed the good works of their predecessors. The situation was worsened by the ruinous invasion of Tīmūr in 801. The Tughlaq dynasty was succeeded by the Sayyids who ruled about fifty years. Their last monarch, Shāh Ālam, abdicated in favour of an Afghan noble Bahlūl Lodi in 855 A.H./1451 A.D. He had a scholarly bent of mind and was a practising Muslim. (68) He revived the practice of early Sultans to keep close contacts with the Ulema. (69) He was much influenced by the Suhrawardiyyah order. His forty years reign tried to correct the wrongs of his immediate predecessors. In 894 A.H./1489 A.D. he was succeeded by his able and pious son Sikandar Lodi. He continued the reform policies of his father. He also took many reformative measures to prevent the growing influence of Bhakti movement and tried to suppress its ideas. In his religious character, Sikandar Lodi resembles the able Tughlaq monarch Fīr^ūz Shāh. Sik^ādar Shāh Lodhī was also a great patron of scholars and scholarship. This patronage has been appreciated by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. (70)

The last Afghan monarch, Ibrāhīm Lodi, saw the rising tide of the Hindu-Rajput confederacy under the leadership of Rānā Sāngā. It is doubtful whether the Afghan rulers could successfully repulse the tide or not. The credit of saving the Muslim community from total annihilation at the hands of the forceful and zealous Rajputs, however, goes to the great Mughal leader,

Zahīr al-Dīn Bābar. But before we proceed further we should have a glance over the intellectual conditions prevailing in Muslim India at that time.

The Bhakti movement had gained a considerable momentum upto this time. On the one hand, Tulsī Dās was exerting influences upon the Hindu religion, philosophy and culture and, on the other hand Kabīr was trying to push Islam nearer to Hinduism and to prepare an amalgam of both — a process which, if successful, would have ultimately resulted in the total disappearance of Islam from the scene. Kabīr had come, during his early youth, into contact with Rāmananda, the foremost Bhakti leader of fifteenth century. The most significant thing he got from Rāmananda's school was his dismissal of both Islam and Hinduism as necessary pre-requisite for men's spiritual attainments. (71). Bhakti movement paved the way for the emergence of some Quasi-Bhakti mystic orders among the Muslims themselves. The example of Shaṭṭāriyyah order can be cited in this context. It was founded by one 'Abd Allāh Shaṭṭārī; the leaders of this order established close relations with the Hindus. They also, consciously or unconsciously, assimilated a good deal of Hindu doctrines in their ideology. The best example of this tendency can, perhaps, be found in Bahr al-Hayāt of Shāh Muḥammad Ghawṭh Gawāliyārī. (72)

Alongwith the Bhakti movement the works of ^{Muhyi} Maḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabi also contributed to the emergence and intensification of syncretic sufism. The works of Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabi had gained circulation among the educated Muslims of the middle class.

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Various prominent mystics of India were working for an organized popularization of Ibn 'Arabi's ideas. A noted mystic of fifteenth century, Shaykh 'Alī Zayn al-Dīn al-Mahā'imi (d. 1432 A.D.) took great pains in propagating the philosophy of Ibn 'Arabi in different parts of the Muslim world. (73)

We have already pointed out that the Sultanate of Delhi was sustained only by the solidarity and the integrity of the Muslim community. Whenever this integrity was let loose the Muslim administration invariably suffered. The integrity and solidarity of the Muslim community was sustained by four strong bastions of its power and sustenance. A strong and well-knit organization of the Chishtī order worked as a cobweb throughout the Subcontinent. During the days of Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', when Delhi was the center of the order, about seven hundred deputies of the Khawājah were working in various cities, towns and townships of India. (74) The Ulema also produced giants like Qāḍī Dīyā' al-Dīn Saḡmī, (75) Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Yahyā (76) Mawlānā Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Imrānī (77) and others. They were fully conscious of their heavy and delicate responsibility in the Subcontinent. The Majority of the monarchs during the Sultanate period included men of character, piety and scholarship. They fully appreciated the position of Muslim community in the Subcontinent and seem to have been fully aware of the social and historical forces that had been at work against the Muslim existence in India.

Inspite of their services for the propagation of Islam, it is to be admitted that most of the leaders of the Chishti order adopted a policy inconsistent with the solidarity and the integrity of the Muslim community. They, in a very good faith, forgot the fact that the Muslim community could maintain its solidarity in an entirely Hindu milieu only by adopting the strictest possible attitude towards Hindu philosophy and culture. Chishti sufis kept a very lenient attitude towards the Hindus and some of them went very far in this direction. (78) Some of them even publicly appreciated Hindu doctrines and Hindu religious dogmas. (79) It was this attitude which paved the way for the popularity of Bhakti ideas. It was, perhaps, due to this pro-Hindu attitude of the Chishtis that the disintegration of their mystic order was followed by the emergence of the Naqshbandiyyah order which is still known for its strict orthodoxy and conformity with the Shari'ah.

The downfall of the Sultanate in late fifteenth century provided an incentive to many fortune hunters both from the Hindus and the Muslims to try to rise to prominence. Signs of a general religious revival of the Hindus also synchronized with the downfall of the Sultanate. Several Muslim leaders came forward to remedy the situation of the general chaos and disorder. Some Muslim leaders persuaded the youthful, doughty and energetic ruler of Farghanah and Kabul, Bābar, to come to India and to fill the vacuum. (80) It was to the good fortune

of the Muslim community of the Subcontinent that Bābar accepted the invitation. This was neither the first nor the last occasion when Indian Muslims sought help from Central Asia. The rising tide of the Rajputs had now gained a threatening proportion. In 1527 Babar finally defeated a huge army of 175000 men and one thousand elephants brought by the joint confederacy of Hindu chieftains headed by Rānā Sāngā.

A few years after this historic victory and the establishment of the Mughal empire, Bābar died in 1530 A.D. His young and highly educated son, Humāyūn, succeeded him; but he was soon driven away by the Afghans under their able and efficient leader, Sher Shāh Sūrī. Sher Shāh, originally a scholar of Islamics, proclaimed himself as the emperor of India. During his short reign of five years he left a deep impact on Muslim administration. Humāyūn had taken refuge with the Šafawids of Iran. Had Sher Shāh Sūrī lived longer the subsequent history of the Subcontinent would have been altogether different. But to the good fortune of the Mughals, Sher Shāh suddenly died in 952 A.H./1545 A.D. Humāyūn exploited the occasion and sought the help of the Šafawids to recapture the throne. After a few years preparation and struggle he defeated the Suris and entered Delhi in 962 A.H./1555 A.D. Next year he died and bequeathed the throne to his young son, Akbar.

We have already noticed that the rise of Bhakti movement synchronized with the emergence of a general revivalist tendency among the Hindus. Their great religious teacher, Chaitanya, left a tremendous impact upon the Hindu religious life (81)

His religio- intellectual movement produced a number of devoted and enthusiastic workers who also started a Shuddhi movement to convert the Muslims to Hindu religion. (82) Through their influence Bhakti ideas infiltrated into various mystic orders of Muslim India creating a religio-intellectual crisis. The first to react against this religious crisis was one Sayyid Muhammad, a scholar from Jawnpūr. He started his mission of renovating the Faith with a claim of divine assignment. This claim, however, created many difficulties for his movement and most of the Ulema opposed him and his movement. (83) However, there were some Ulema who not only supported the movement but also wrote books in its defence. Mawlānā Jamāl al-Dīn wrote a book in which he established that Sayyid Muhammad was a genuine Muslim divine; however, the author disagreed from his alleged claim to be Mahdi. (84) The well-known scholar and Muḥaddith of Gujrat Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn refused to affix his signature on a joint Fatwā issued by a group of Ulema to excommunicate Sayyid Muhammad and some of his followers. He said his pen could not move to denounce a party which devoted itself to the cause of truth. (85) Shāh Waliy Allāh is also reported to have appreciated the efforts of Sayyid Muhammad. He considered the Sayyid, it is alleged, a genuine scholar and a true divine of Islam. (86) Similar remarks are also reported from the Mujaddid and Mirzē Maḡhar Jān-i-Jānān. (87)

When Sayyid Muhammad felt difficulties in facing the opposition and the opprobrium by the Ulema he moved to Gujrat where he was very cordially received by the ruler. But soon he incurred even more bitter opposition by the local Ulema.

Therefore, he moved to Iran and Hijaz where he widely travelled and preached his message. (88) While coming back to India he died in 1505 A.D. His movement in India was continued under the leadership of Shaykh 'Alā'ī and Mawlānā 'Abd Allah Niyāzī. Both were symbols of piety, devotion and sincerity. The former was an extraordinarily eloquent and effective orator. He filled his colleagues with an unprecedented zeal and gathered a huge number of followers. He even gave an 'honorarium' from his own pocket to those who accepted his call for prayers. (89) His opposition with the Ulema lasted for years and passed through different stages. The tale of his persecution and then execution is very exemplary and has been preserved by Badā'ūnī. (90)

Sayyid Muḥammad's followers were symbols of piety and the strict observance of the Sharī'ah. In religious matter their attitude was highly uncompromising. Some times they tried to take the law in their own hands for the enforcement of the Sharī'ah by themselves. (91) But it is very significant to note that Badā'ūnī is led to conclude that the movement was a replica of Sayyidi Mawlā's movement during early ^{Khilji} ~~Mughal~~ period. (92)

The emergence of the movement almost coincided with the emergence of the Mughals under Bābar on Indian scene. It flourished during the period when Bābar was busy in his campaigns against Rānā Sāngā. Its force extinguished during the reign of the Sūrs when Shaykh 'Alā'ī was executed in 955 A.H./1548 A.D. This was the period when Humāyūn was striving to regain the throne of Delhi.

*Sayyid Muḥammad died in 1505 -
that is 21 years before Bābar came to India.*

Akbar ascended the throne in 963 A.H./1556 A.D. at the age of ^{four}thirteen. The most influential Shi'ah noble and general of his father, Bayram Khān imposed himself as the regent of the young monarch. Bayram Khān acquired widest powers and exerted utmost influence in reshaping the Mughal administration. He executed several Timūri-Sunni nobles and recruited the Shi'ahs to positions of importance. ⁽⁹³⁾ Thus, since the very day of his accession to the throne, Akbar, came under the close and deep influence of the Shi'ah nobles. His father had got victory over the Sūrs largely due to the support of the Shi'ite regime of the Şafawids of Iran. Earlier, his grandfather, Bābar, also ^{got} ~~kept~~ a substantial help from Shāh Ismā'īl Şafawī in establishing himself in Samarqand. Consequently, Shi'ah nobles, scholars and men of literature poured into the Mughal empire and occupied positions of importance in various fields of public life and administration. This Shi'ah nobility exercised utmost influence and played a significant role on every moment of crisis. Many a time it changed the course of events and turned the tide of history to new directions. The Shi'ah influence increased very rapidly when in 1576 A.D. Shāh Ismā'īl II rose to power in Iran and converted to Sunnism. His persecution of the Shi'ah scholars enhanced their migration to India. ⁽⁹⁴⁾ The Shi'ah and Sunni nobles polarized into two distinct, and sometimes hostile, groups in post-Aurangzeb period and their internecine division greatly enfeebled the structure of ^{the} Muslim army and civil administration.

Akbar's proclamation as the emperor of India brought about political stability throughout the Mughal empire. The fifty years reign of Akbar was, in fact, the prime youth of the Mughal administration from a purely political, rather secular, point of view. But as regards the social, cultural, intellectual and religious aspects, Akbar's period can, by no means, be termed a happy or fortunate period of Muslim history. Muslim society received great setbacks during Akbar's reign. The stream of Islamic culture which had, to a very large extent, retained its original purity inspite of a number of efforts made during the course of past five hundred years was grossly polluted by his regime. The intellectual life of Muslim India was permeated with inactive mysticism and was highly influenced by the Hindu philosophy of Vedantism. A section of Muslim mysticism had already underwent a deep impact of Bhakti movement. In the religious field the Muslim India not only saw the calculated deviation of the administration from orthodoxy but also witnessed a planned struggle to exterminate Islam from the Subcontinent. The banishment of orthodoxy from political life of Muslim India found its fullest expression in the Dīn-i-Ilāhī of Akbar which was, in fact, the invention of an undisciplined and uneducated young mind influenced by stalwarts of different religions. (95) It was undoubtedly one of the most unfortunate and most dangerous crises in the history of Muslim community.

The Muslim community never proved barren on such occasions of crises. It showed reactions to Dīn-i-Ilāhī which came from different circles. Political reaction was shown by some

disorganized orthodox nobles who got the support of Akbar's half brother, Mirzā Ḥakīm, the governor of Kabul. (96) A similar movement was also started in Bengal which won full support and backing of the orthodox ulema and Shī'ah divines as well. The movement was simultaneously started in the eastern and north-western provinces. Mirzā Ḥakīm was persuaded to attack Punjab. But Akbar soon managed to suppress the rebellion; he executed several ulema who raised any voice against the religious policies of the government. (97)

The failure in the political field opened new avenues for the thinking and sensitive spirits. The responses in the intellectual field came from two most prominent geniuses of Indian Muslim history: the academician Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and the mystic Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi. The two giants had been under the influence of the celebrated Naqshbandi saint, Khwājah Bāqī Billah. The Naqshbandi order played a tremendous role in the religio-cultural history of Muslim India. It was a product of Central Asia and is the youngest of all major sufi orders prevalent in the Subcontinent. It came to India comparatively later and brought with it all the peculiarities of Central Asian Islam: its emphasis on the importance of Fiqh, its militant character and its strict conformity with the Sharī'ah. Fresh, untired and full energy, the Naqshbandi order had all the prerequisites of ^vpaying the way for an extensive and intensive movement for the renaissance of Islam in India.

لوت
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Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq came of a respectable family of ulama and Sufis. (98) After getting education in India, he went to Arabia where he specialized in Hadīth with the well-known Indian scholar, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqi who represented the highest Arab-Indian tradition of scholarship, tolerance and broadmindedness. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's three years stay in the Hijaz re-established the academic relations between the spiritual capital of Islam and the Northern India. Later on, by joining the order of Khwājah Bāqi Billah, he assembled in his person the religio-academic traditions of India, Central Asia and Arabia.

Even before he left for Hijaz, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq had been a keen and critical observer of the religio-intellectual developments of Muslim India. He had close contacts with the nobles of the court of Akbar and was certainly aware of what was happening in the court. (99) After coming back to India he maintained his friendly relations with the orthodox nobles of the court. (100) He guided them on religious matters through personal contact and correspondance. Through these nobles he also remained in touch with Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. (101) He is also reported to have written a treatise on the system of government and politics in Islam for the guidance of the Emperor Jahāngīr. (102) On the death of Akbar he wrote a letter to Nawab Shaykh Farīd Murtaqā Khān which was also presented to Jahāngīr as desired by Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq himself. This letter discussed the fundamentals of Islam and the application of the Sharī'ah and the Islamic faith. (103)

But the real contribution of the Shaykh lies in his all-out efforts for the renaissance of Islamic sciences in India. His intensive background in Islamic sciences, his contact with men of learning from all over the Muslim world and his close association with Mughal nobility must have compelled him to rethink the entire fabric of intellectual life of Muslim India. He must have made a thorough assessment of the prevalent conditions of Islam before launching his academic movement. He reached the conclusion that the emergence of heresies was always a natural corollary of the intellectual corruption. Whenever the fountain-heads of Muslim thought and culture are polluted heresies do grow and ultimately disrupt the entire socio-intellectual fabric of the Muslim society. Thus he diagnosed the disease. The remedy he suggested was the renaissance of Islamic science so as to fill the vacuum created by centuries long sterility of the intellectual life of Muslim India.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq divided his task of the renaissance of Islamic sciences into two sections. On the one hand he established a college where he trained scholars on Islamic pattern. He gave central place to Quran and Hadith, curtailed the unnecessary importance of Fiqh and reduced the teaching of logic and philosophy to the minimum. He paid special attention to the popularization of Hadith. (104) In this respect he is a precursor of Shah Waliy Allah. To these two goes the credit of the popularization of Hadith on mass scale in the Subcontinent.

علوم الدين
not science

The second thing done by the Shaykh is his great academic work which covers almost all the Islamic sciences with Quran, Hadith and Sirah occupying the central position. He died at the age of 94 and lived 52 years after coming back to India. During this long period, apart from teaching thousands of students, he authored more than fifty books and some of them run into several volumes. He had a versatile genius and wrote extensively on Tafsir, Hadith, Sirah, theology, Fiqh, Tasawwuf, ethics, logic, philosophy, history, grammar, etc. His works on Hadith and Sirah number in dozens. (105) His stress on Hadith and Sirah, if viewed against the back-ground of Din-i-Ilahi and the Alfi movement, seems to possess a great importance and meaning. His deep study of Quran, Hadith and Sirah and his association with the Naqshbandiyyah order gave him a balanced outlook specially on the traditional controversy between Fiqh and Tasawwuf. He considers them complementary of each other; without one the other leads to confusion. (106) He bitterly condemns the sufis who do not follow the commandments of the Shari'ah and identify themselves with the Batiniyyah or Hanawiyyah. He declares that every mystic claim not acceptable by the Shari'ah is only a Zandaqah heresy. (107)

The second and most vigorous response came from the mystic, Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi, better known as the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Ihān. His great personality and his historic success in his mission put the work of his great contemporary into eclipse.

The great religious genius of Muslim India traced his geneology from 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb, the second Caliph of Islam. (106)

But he
was very
miscellaneous
of knowledge

He got his early education with his able and learned father, Shaykh 'Abd al-Aḥad who was also an accomplished sufi of the Chishti order. His teachers also included the well-known Muhaddith, Shaykh Ya'qūb Sarāfi of Kashmīr who had a stiff attitude towards the Shī'ahs. After completing his education, Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi adopted the profession of teaching. He lectured on various religious sciences in Sarhand. He also stayed sometimes in Akbarabad, then capital of the Mughal empire. He had occasions to visit Abu'l Faḍl and Fayḍi, the two brothers who masterminded the entire scheme of Dīn-i-Ilāhī. His stay in the capital and his discussions with men of letters there must have left tremendous effects in shaping his attitude towards the problems facing the Muslim India. He wrote some small treatises on the problems like prophethood, Sunnism, meaning and philosophy of the Article of Faith in Islam etc. But these works bore some philosophical or theological character. The true spirit of Indian Islam required efforts with an intensive mystic blend. In the religio-intellectual atmosphere of sixteenth century Muslim India it should have been the language of mystic experience through which the spirit of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi should have spoken. Fortunately he got an opportunity, rather chance, to meet Khwājah Bāqī Billah and through him to come under the influence of the Naqshbandi way of thinking. (109)

Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi began his task after the death of Khwājah Bāqī Billah (d. 1012 A.H./1603 A.D.) and Akbar (d. 1014 A.H./1605 A.D.) He started an all-out effort for

restoring the position of Islam in the Mughal empire. He utilized his relations with orthodox and pro-Islam nobles of the Court and established new contacts. He helped these nobles in uniting themselves in a 'Group of the Supporters of Islam (Jirgah-i-Mumiddān-i-Islam). (110) He regularly wrote to them on matters of religious and political importance for Muslim India. He invited their attention to the drawbacks in the social and political structure of the Mughal empire. (111) He adopted a unique system of mass movement. He used to write small essays and treatises on important religious, theological and political problems in the form of epistles. His students and disciples prepared hundreds and thousands of copies of these epistles and circulated them throughout the country. A recent writer has rightly termed them as the official Gazette of the Mujaddidi movement. These gazettes were issued from time to time and carried his message to every corner of the country. These epistles are, in fact, an encyclopaedia of the religious sciences of Islam. These are also a panorama of the religious and intellectual life of Muslim India during late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

Hitherto the Chishtī order was the most popular one in the Subcontinent. It had its country-wide organization and worked as a parallel 'government' in the domain of spirit. But after the disintegration of the Chishtī order, the need was felt that a fresh and vigorous spiritual order should replace the Chishtī order and should meet the requirement of the Muslim intellect and spirit of the period. ^{The} Naqshbandī order proved to be the most suitable one to fill this vacuum. It was free from

the drawbacks of its predecessors and presented a balanced philosophy with a good synthesis between the Sharī'ah and the Tarīqah. With its Central Asian background it was more Fiqh-oriented than any other Sufi discipline of the Subcontinent. Thus, it was more competent to counter the pseudo-mystic movements that ^{had} a conspicuous pro-Hindu or pro-Vedantism colour. The Mujaddid carved out a branch of his own from the Naqshbandi order and ^mixed it with his own thinking as well. The religious life of Muslim India was in such a dire need of fresh and vigorous sufi order that no sooner the Mujaddid launched his Mujaddidi order, Muslim India hastened to accept it and endorsed the diagnosis of the disease made by the Mujaddid. Within a few years branches of his new and youthful discipline were established throughout the Subcontinent. (112)

The great missionary work of the Mujaddid produced deep and far-reaching effects. He had appointed his deputies in various cities and towns to organize the work. (113) One of such deputies, Shaykh Badī' al-Dīn, was appointed to serve in the army; his work in the army was very successful and he was able to muster the support of large numbers of military people to the camp of orthodoxy. Even Prince Khurram who succeeded Jahāngīr as Emper Shāh Jahān, came under the influence of the Mujaddidi. (114) But the popularity of the Mujaddid and the ascendancy of orthodoxy could not go unnoticed. The anti-orthodox forces were not dormant; they were also active and there was a cold war of talent, courage and intelligence. The Mujaddid incurred the wrath of these forces. He was summoned by

the Emperor and, after some interrogation, was put behind the bars. (115)

An important aspect of the greatness of the Mujaddid lies in his reformation of mysticism. Hitherto the Muslim mysticism was either monist or at least monism-oriented. Most of the leading sufis of the Subcontinent believed in monism (Wahdat al-wujūd) which provided a rendez-vous to Islam and Vedantism. As a result, the Muslim mysticism was rapidly coming closer to Vedantism. The Mujaddid's introduction of the Naqshbandism on popular level and his bitter criticism on prevalent mysticism put an end to the pro-Hindu trends in Muslim thinking. He diverted the mystico-intellectual activity of Muslim India from heterodoxy to orthodoxy. By him started a new trend of channelising the mystic thought and activity into the thought-fabric of the Shari'ah which culminated in his celebrated aftercomer, Shāh Waliy Allah.

To keep the events into chronological order we not revert to the accession of Jahāngīr in 1605 A.D. Akbar and his Hindu and pro-Hindu nobles wished to enthrone Prince Khusraw as Akbar's successor. But with the effort of orthodox and pro-Islam nobles Jahāngīr was able to proclaim himself as the Emperor even during the life time of Akbar. His victory against Khusraw was considered a victory of the Islamic camp by the prominent exponents of orthodoxy. (116) Shaykh Farīd Murtaḍā Khān played the most effective role in Jahāngīr's enthronement. (117)

He was a close friend and disciple of the Mujaddid, Shaykh
'Abd al-Haqq and Khawājah Bāqī Billah. Before his accession to
the throne Jahāngīr promised that he would implement the
Sharī'ah and then protect the Islamic character of the state. (118)
The first step he took after coming to power was the execution
of Abu'l Fadl, the evil genius who masterminded the entire fabric
of Akbar's heterodoxy. Jahāngīr also issued a number of
proclamations which included the ban on all alcoholic drinks (119)
Though he himself remained a habitual drinker. The congregational
prayer of Jum'ah which was dropped by Akbar from the official
proceedings of the court was again revived by Jahāngīr. (120)

Jahāngīr came into contact with the Mujaddid around 1028
A.H./1618 A.D. He had put the Mujaddid in jail but after about
one year he set him free and requested him to remain in the
Imperial escort. The Mujaddid accepted the request and remained
for quite a long time in the Imperial escort and left a deep
impact. (121) The growing patronage of orthodoxy by ^{Emperor} ~~the Emperor~~
~~deep~~ was not approved by the Shī'ah nobles led by Nūr Jahān
and her clique. Nūr Jahān prevailed upon the Emperor and
enhanced her influence in state affairs. Her name was included
in the Khutbah and the coinage. She tried to tease the leaders
of orthodoxy and to spoil the Emperor's opinion about them. (122)
She also plotted against Prince Khurram, the heir-apparent of
Jahāngīr, and tried to install her son-in-law Shahryār as the
future Emperor. Prince Khurram was backed by all orthodox
forces. He revolted against this situation and after a long
struggle he succeeded in putting an end to all the conspiracies
against himself and orthodoxy. He ascended the throne as Emperor

That was
all in
Akbar's
life time!

And he
was married
to her niece!

Shāh Jahān on 19 January 1628 A.D. His accession gave a considerable strength to orthodoxy; it was also warmly welcomed by the successors of the Mujaddid. (123)

The last days of the reign of Shāh Jahān witnessed one of the most interesting and rigorous conflicts between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. This battle was fought between Awrangzeb, the representative of orthodox forces, and Dārā Shikūh, the representative of heterodoxy and pro-Hindu syncretic mysticism. Dārā Shikūh was the eldest and most favourite son of Shāh Jahān. He had a scholarly bent of mind and had a keen interest in mysticism. He had relations with the leading sufis of his time. In 1049 A.H./1639 A.D. when he was only 25 he wrote his first book Safinat al-Awliyā' which contains biographies of the renowned mystics. Three years later he wrote his Sakinat al-Awliyā' which had some clear signs of heresy. This book incurred the criticism of orthodox circles. It was, perhaps, this criticism which infuriated Dārā Shikūh and as a reaction he adopted extremist ideas. The criticism was met by Dārā Shikūh in the form of a book, Hasanāt al-Ārifin, which contained a collection of heretical remarks and passages from some of the leading sufis selected to support and defend his own heresy. His syncretism found its fullest illustration in his later works Maimān al-Bahrāyn and Sir-i-Akbar. In the former he tries to prove that Islam and Vedantism are of one and the same origin and aim at one goal. The latter is the Persian translation of the Upanishads. The later years of Dārā's life were devoted to the popularization of Hindu religious works. Presumably under

Hindu influence he expounded the theory that the Shari'ah was not necessary to reach the sublime goal. (124) He himself also gave up all the Islamic rituals. (125)

That was before 1657

In the later years of his life Dārā came under the influence of the legendary mystic-lunatic poet, Sarmad, and Lāl Dās Bayrāgi, a Hindu Bhakta. Dārā's affiliation with these two proves beyond any shadow of doubt that his movement was the fullest and most forceful expression of Bhakti ideas in Muslim mysticism. Sarmad was originally an Armenian Jew. (126) He studied Persian and philosophy in Iran and developed strong mystic leanings. Afterwards he migrated to India where he fell in love of a Hindu boy and went almost mad. He started wandering stark naked and in the course of his rampage he came to Delhi. In Delhi Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad met each other and were impressed by each other.

The real conflict between Aurangzeb and Dārā Shikūh began in 1086 A.H./1657 A.D. when Shāh Jahān fell ill. The princes began their struggle to succeed to the throne. Shāh Jahān himself supported Dārā Shikūh and put his entire weight in Dārā's balance. The conflict passed through great vicissitudes and finally the ability and efficiency of Aurangzeb won the battle. He ascended the throne as Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1068 A.H./1658 A.D. Dārā Shikūh, however, continued his struggle against Aurangzeb. He tried to get the support of the Safawids of Iran who were fully prepared to render to him every possible support against Aurangzeb. But the scheme was shattered by a loyal Afghan noble of Qandhar who arrested Dārā Shikūh and sent him to Aurangzeb. In Delhi Dārā was tried by a judicial tribunal of the Ulema and the judges and was ultimately executed for his heresy on

30 August 1659 A.H. In this battle Awrangzeb had the full support of all orthodox forces including the Mujaddidis. The Mujaddidi literature also reports a vision experienced by Khwājah Muḥammad Ma'qūm in Madinah. When he learnt that Dārā Shikūh was a contestant for the throne against Awrangzeb he decided to rush back to India to muster support for Awrangzeb. But during a contemplation he felt he saw the spirit of the Hol Prophet who told him that Dara would be defeated and the throne would pass to Awrangzeb. (127)

49 years!

The accession of Awrangzeb Alamgir was the culmination of the revivalist movement started by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and the Mujaddid. In this respect his reign is by far the most important in the whole history of Muslim Subcontinent. His uncompromising orthodoxy, his strong leanings towards the Fuqahā' and his somewhat anti-sufism attitude have led some of historians to categorize him with 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. (128) His accession not only delayed the process of disintegration of the Mughal empire for several decades but also expanded it to the farthest corners of the Subcontinent. He was the last great monarch of Muslim India and reigned more than half a century. In spite of his old age he constantly and circumspectly busied himself in combatting the multifarious historical and social forces working against the Mughal empire and the Muslim community of the Subcontinent. He also forcefully and successfully suppressed the forces striving to replace the Mughals. Seldom in human history one comes across Jonases like Awrangzeb who against such adverse odds have succeeded in diverting the course of history and restrained the historical forces from showing their results for a long period.

Awrangzeb was the sixth son of Shāh Jahān. He was born on 24 October 1618 A.D./15 Dhu'/Qa dah 1027 A.H. (129) He got his education at the feet of great scholars and statesmen of his age. His teachers included Nawab Sa'ed Allah Khān , the well-known scholar-statesman and the Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān; he was also a class-fellow of the Mufaddid. Awrangzeb completed his education at the age of seventeen and mastered, alongwith other sciences, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi languages. Even after coming to power he maintained close contacts with the scholars and religious divines. He had special and closer relations with the leaders of the Mufaddidiyyah order. He had correspondance with Khawājah Muḥammad Sa'īd, the son and successor of the Mufaddid. (130) His younger brother and the third son of the Mufaddid, Khawājah Muḥammad Ma'qūm had contacts with nobles and men of eminence in every quarter within and outside India (131) He had also a long acquaintance with Awrangzeb. Since his princehood Awrangzeb enjoyed the friendship of the Khawājah.(132) After coming to power Awrangzeb invited the Khawājah to visit his court. But he apologized due to his health conditions and sent his son, Khawājah Sayf al-Dīn, who remained in the royal escort for many years. The Khawājah fervently busied himself in the religious and spiritual uplift of the state officials. Awrangzeb kept the Khawājah always with him and solicited his help and guidance whenever he felt necessary.(133) The Emperor often visited the Khawājah at his residence and sought spiritual blessings.

Awrangzeb's reforms left far-reaching effects on the position of Islam and Muslim community in the Subcontinent. He translated the Mujaddidi religious ^{re}rendissance into practice. He encouraged scholars of orthodox Islam to carry on their missionary and educational work with full liberty in an atmosphere of full state patronage. Muslim education reached its climax during the reign of Awrangzeb who himself remained busy in acquiring as much knowledge as possible. In spite of his great preoccupations he learnt the Holy Quran by heart at the age of forty-two. (134) The most prominent and the most important educational and academic work done by Awrangzeb is the compilation of the encyclopaedia work on Islamic laws: Al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamīyyah, sometimes known as Al-Fatāwā al-Hindiyyah. For the compilation of this work an Academy of eminent Muslim jurists was constituted by the Emperor under the chairmanship of Mawlānā Nizām al-Dīn. Different groups of scholars were assigned to write different chapters. The Emperor himself supervised the entire work and the chairman of the Academy was daily called in audience to the Emperor to give him daily progress report. Shāh Waliy Allah's father Shāh ʿAbd al-Rahīm also worked for some time in this project. (135)

Awrangzeb's other reforms included the abolition of eighty un-Islamic taxes after reforming the entire system of taxation. This caused great increase in state revenue. (136) He also abolished Nadhr system which was tantamount to a sort of bribe.

Court etiquettes were made in conformity with the teachings of Islam. (137) Strict measures were taken for the moral uplift of the society. The institution of Ihtisāb was reorganized. (138) Much has been said about the Deccan campaigns of Aurangzeb. These have been condemned as unwarranted for, impolitic and motivated by fanaticism. But it goes to the credit of Aurangzeb that he could, against odds, manage to sustain the rising tide of the joint confederacy of the nihilist forces of the Marathas. (139) He was the forerunner of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī in frustrating the Maratha dream of establishing a Hindu-pad Padshahi.

- (1) Sayyid Sulaymān Nadāwī in his 'Arab wa Hind Ke Ta'alluqāt, Allahbad, 1950, has discussed at length these centuries old relations. George F. Hourani also in his Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean, Princeton, 1954, has thrown abundant light on these relations.
- (2) For Caliph 'Umar's policy and subsequent developments, Abū 'Abbās Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhuri, Futūh al-Buldān, Leiden 1866, pp. 431 et seq.
- (3) Ibid. Also for the details of early naval expeditions of the Muslims on Gujrat and Bombay area, 'Alī ibn Hāmid ibn Abū Bakr al-Kūfi, Chach Nāmāh, Edited by 'Umar ibn Muḥammad Dā'ūd potā, Delhi, 1939, pp. 72-74; also Abū Zafar Nadawī, Tārīkh-i-Sindh, Azamgarh, 1974, pp. 26-27
- (4) Kūfi, op. cit. pp. 17-18
- (5) Ibid. pp. 104, 105, 106, 116, 119, 121 156
- (6) Al-Balādhuri, op. cit. p. 446
- (7) Buzurg ibn Shahryār, 'Alā'ib al-Hind, p. 4 cited in I.H. Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 41
- (8) Elliot and Dowson, Historians of Hind, Calcutta, 1955, p. 26
- (9) Al-Balādhuri, op. cit. 441-442
- (10) Qureshi, op. cit. p. 41
- (11) Balādhuri, op. cit. p. 441
- (12) Riyāsat 'Alī Nadāwī, 'Ahd-i-Islāmi Ka Hindustān, Patna, 1951 pp. 66-68
- (13) Ibid. pp. 67-73; gives the details of the disorders and chaotic conditions.
- (14) Ibid. pp. 73-74
- (15) Ibid. pp. 74-77
- (16) Ibid. pp. 78-80; also Abū Zafar Nadawī, op. cit. pp.

- (17) Riyāsat 'Alī Nadawī, op. cit., p. 78
- (18) Balādhuri, op. cit. p. 446
- (19) Ibn Hawqal, Abū 'l Qāsim, Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard, Leiden, 1938, p. 320. Also Buzurg ibn Shahryār, op. cit. p. 144
- (20) Ibn Hawqal, op. cit.
- (21) 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Abī 'l 'afā Al-Jawāhir al-Mudī'ah, Hyderabad, 1332 A.H. vol. II, p. 157-158
- (22) 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, Nāḥāt al-Unā, Bombay, 1284 A.H. p. 207
- (23) Khalīq Ahmad Hīzāmī, Tārīkh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, Delhi, 1955 p. 146
- (24) For fuller discussion on the establishment of the Sultanate and the expansion of Muslim rule, Tabātabā'ī, Ghufām Husayn, Siyar al-Muta'akkhkhirīn, Lucknow, 1897, vol. I, pp. 103-105
- (25) Sayyid Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, Bazm-i-Mamlūkiyyah, Azamgarh, 1954, pp. 7-8.
- (26) Ibid. p. 28
- (27) 'Abd al-Hayy, Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir.
- (28) Sayyid Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, op. cit. p. 5.
It is to be noted that the official titles of Aybak included the title Nāṣir-i-Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the helper or lieutenant of the commander of the Faithful).
- (29) His piety and religious character was hailed by the most prominent Sufi circles of his age; cf. Fawā'id al-Sālikīn, pp. 28-29. He also received the blessings of a number of renowned mystics; cf. Mawlānā 'Iṣāmī Futūḥ al-Salātīn, Agra, 1938 p. 119; Tārīkh-i-Fariṣtah, vol. I pp. 60-62; Hasan Sijzi, Fawā'id al-Fuwād, p. 212.
- (30) Sayyid Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, op. cit. p. 66
- (31) Barani, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Firoze Shāhi, p. 70

- (32) Sayyid Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, op. cit. p. 85
- (33) Ibid. pp. 79-82; reproducing the discussion between Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāḡorī and a group of ulema on the problem of Simā'.
- (34) The Cambridge History of Islam, vol. II, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 7-8
- (35) 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī, Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī, vol. I, p. 305 cited in Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Salāṭīn-i-Dihlī ke Madhhabī Raihanāt, Delhi, 1377 A.H., p. 156
- (36) Baranī, op. cit. p. 111
- (37) Ḥasan Siyzi, Fawā'id al-Fuwād, pp. 232-233; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, op. cit. pp. 232-224
- (38) Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, op. cit. pp. 159-168.
- (39) Ibid. pp. 159-160
- (40) Ibid.
- (41) Baranī, op. cit. pp. 129-131
- (42) Ibid.
- (43) Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, op. cit. pp. 190-191
- (44) Baranī, op. cit. pp. 178-236
- (45) Ibid pp. 214-218
- (46) For details of Sayyidi Mawlā and the conspiracy: Baranī, op. cit. pp. 209-212; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, op. cit. pp. 206-212; 'Abd al Qādir Badā'ūnī, Muntakhab al-Tawārikh, vol. I, pp. 172 ff. It is doubtful whether Sayyidi Mawlā was himself a collaborator in the conspiracy or not. The remarks made about him by some later authorities like Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Akhbār al-Akhyar, Delhi, 1332, p. 73, suggest that only his name was exploited by the conspirators.
- (47) The Cambridge History of Islam, op. cit. p. 9
- (48) Baranī, op. cit. pp. 263-267.

- (49) Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, op. cit. p. 223
- (50) The Cambridge History of Islam, op. cit. pp. 9-10
- (51) Amir Khusraw, Nuh Sipahr; Calcutta, 1948, pp. 38-39;
for general moral decay, Barani, op. cit. pp. 387-396
- (52) He was not willing to assume power and it was after a
considerable hesitation that he gave permission to be
proclaimed as the Sultan cf. Nizami, op. cit. p. 308
- (53) References are too numerous to be quoted; e.g. Barani,
op. cit. pp. 437-443; Amir Khusraw, Iqti'ad Nāmah,
Awrangabad, 1923, pp. 66, 72-75, 1401-141
- (54) Barani, op. cit. p. 441
- (55) Muhammad Ikrām, Ab-i-Kawthar, Lahore, pp. 495-496
- (56) Mir Khurd, Siyar al-Awliya', Delhi, = 302 A.H.
pp. 528-530; Nizami, op. cit. pp. 315-318
- (57) Mir Khurd, op. cit. p. 256; Barani, op. cit. pp. 506-522
- (58) For some details 'Abd al-Hayy, Al-Ithnāshah al-Islāmiyyah fi'l
Hind, Damascus, 1958 , pp.
Muhammad Ishāq Bhatti, Barr-i-Shahīr Pak-e-Hind Men 'Ilm-i-
Fiqh, Lahore, 1973, pp. 99-125, Zubayd Ahmad, The Contribu-
tion of India to Arabic Literature, Lahore, 1967, pp. 69-70.
- (59) Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad, Masālik al-Absār pp. 42-43
- (60) Mahdi Husayn, Aqha, Sultān al-Hind Muhammad Shāh ibn
Iqti'ad, Allahbad, 1937, p. 165, quoting Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad,
Masālik al-Absār
- (61) Cf. Shams Sirā'ī 'Aflīf, Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī pp. 22-23, 95, 277;
also Mutahhar, Diwān Published in Oriental College Magazine
May 1935, p. 130
- (62) Barani, op. cit. pp. 548, 552, 561
- (63) Nizami, op. cit. p. 387

M. Ishāq,
Mulla's contribution
to the

- (64) Ibid. p. 396, quoting Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhi, Ms, folio 151
- (65) Barani, op. cit. p. 560
- (66) Shams Sirāj Afīf, op. cit. p. 371
- (67) Ibid.
- (68) Nizāmi, op. cit. pp. 440, 442
- (69) Ibid.
- (70) Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, Akhbār al-Akhyār, p. 3
- (71) For fuller discussions upon the subject, I.H. Qureshi, The Muslim community of the subcontinent, The Hague, 1962 pp.109-112 ff ; Tara Chand, The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Allahbad, 1936, pp. 143-165
- (72) Nizāmi, op. cit. p. 451
- (73) Ibid. p. 448
- (74) Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmi, Tārīkh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, Delhi, 1953, pp. 175-176 ff
- (75) For a short note, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, op. cit. p. 109
- (76) For a short biographical note, Nizāmi, op. cit pp. 177-178; also Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, op cit. pp.97-98
- (77) For a short notice, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, op. cit. p.144
- (78) Imām al-Dīn, Nāfi' al-Sālikīn (being the table talks of Khwājah Muḥammad Sulaymān Tonswi), Lahore, 1285 A.H., p.176, cf. Nizāmi, Tārīkh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, op. cit. p. 297
- (79) Ibid. pp. 298-299
- (80) Among those who invited the attention of Bābar toward India was Dawlat Khān Lodhi, the governor of Punjab.
- (81) For a brief note on the life and teachings of Chaitanya, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, fourth edition, 1958, vol. III, pp. 334-335

- (82) J.N. Sarkar, Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings, Calcutta, 1913, p. 228
- (83) Among those who opposed him the most noted are Shaykh 'Alī al-Muttaqī and Shaykh Muḥammad Tāhir Pattānī, the two most celebrated scholars of Hadīth at that time. The latter had even to lay his life at the hands of some of the followers of Sayyid Muḥammad; cf. 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Nuḥḥat al-Khawāṭir, vol. iv, p.
- (84) Abu'l Kalām Āzād, Tadhkirah, Edited by Mirzā Fadl al-Dīn Aḥmad, Lahore, n.d. p. 44
- (85) Ibid. p. 59
- (86) Ibid. p. 60
- (87) Ibid.
- (88) Ibid. p. 48
- (89) 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh Calcutta, 1865 vol. I, pp. 395-396.
- (90) Ibid. pp. 394-ff
- (91) I. I. Dureshi, Ulema in Politics p. 38
- (92) Badā'ūnī, op. cit.
- (93) The examples of Tārdī Bag's execution and Shaykh Gadā'ī's recruitment may be cited. The examples can, however, be multiplied.
- (94) Muḥammad Ikrām, Rūd i-Kawthar, Lahore, 1970 p. 34
- (95) For the details of Dīn-i-Ilāhī, 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh, vol II, Calcutta, 1865, pp. 198-280 ff. Vol III, p. 200-215, 255-270, 299-306, 318-319, 363, also, Vincent A. Smith, Akbar: The Great Mughal, Delhi, 1958 pp. 150-160; also, Muḥammad Aslam, Dīn-i-Ilāhī Aur Uskā Paa Manzar, Lahore, 1970; also, M.C. Chaudhri, The Dīn-i-Ilāhī, Calcutta, 1941

- (96) It was one of the rebels, Ma'qūm Khen, who persuaded Mirza Hakim to turn against Akbar.
- (97) Badā'ūni, vol. II, p. 297
- (98) For a fuller discussion on the Shaykh's family, Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmi, Hayāt-i-Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, Delhi, 1953
- (99) Badā'ūni, op. cit. vol. III, n. 113
- (100) The collection of his letters contains a good number of his letters to such influential orthodox nobles as Shaykh Farīd Murtadā Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Bakhshī and others.
- (101) Nizāmi, op. cit. pp. 145-149
- (102) Ibid. p. 197
- (103) Ibid. pp. 378-385 gives full text of the letter
- (104) For a short discussion on his efforts for the popularization of Hadīth see the present writer, Al-Imām al-Muhaddith 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawī wa Dawruhāū fī ihyā' al-Mukāma' al-Islāmī fī shibh al-Ṭarrah, Damascus, 1976, pp. 16-17
- (105) Ibid. pp. 16-20
- (106) Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, Marī al-Bahrayn, p. 87 quoted by Nizāmi, op. cit. p. 293
- (107) Ghāzī, Mahmūd Ahmad, op. cit. pp. 14-15
- (108) See among other sources, Muhammad Ikrām, Rūd-i-Kawthar, p. 222
- (109) His contact with the Khwājah was somewhat accidental. He left his hometown for Ḥajj. While in Delhi one of his friends told him about the Khwājah and his mystic attainments. He visited the Khwājah and soon a deep recognition of each others's calibre took place which resulted in the joining of Khwājah's circle by Shaykh Ahmad.

cf. Fredun
Ahmad's 'Shaykh'

- (110) Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi, Maktūbāt cf. Muhammad Aslam, op. cit. p. 241
- (111) Eg. Maktūbāt, vol. I, Epistles No. 47, 63, 65, 71, 73, 75, 79, 80, 163, 191, 193, 213, 214, vol. II, Epistles No. 8, 13, 15, 62, 66, 67.
- (112) For details, Muhammad Ikrām, op. cit. pp. 285-291. The rapid expansion of the Mufaddidi discipline was also noticed by Jahāngīr, vide, Iuzuk, fourteenth year of Accession.
- (113) Ibid.
- (114) Lāhori, Ghulām Sarwar, Khazīnat al-Aʿfiyāʾ, Lahore, 1283, p. 580
- (115) Ibid. pp. 579-580 ; Jahāngīr, op. cit.
- (116) E.g. Mufaddid, Maktūbāt, vol. II Epistle 29, vol. III Epistle 47; Also 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, cf. Nizāmi, op. cit, pp. 145-146, 378-385.
- (117) Cf. Muhammad Ikrām, Rūd-i-Kawthar, pp. 137-139, 160, 161
- (118) Ibid.
- (119) Jahāngīr, Iuzuk — P.
- (120) Ibid.
- (121) Lāhori, op. cit.
- (122) Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq was one of them; he has to suffer from the jealousy of Nūr Jahān; cf. Nizāmi, op. cit. pp. 148-149.
- (123) Khwājah Muhammad Hāshim Kashmī Zubdat al-Maḡānāt, (Urdu tr.) Lahore, n.d.

- (124) Cf. Najib Ashraf Nadawi, Muqaddimah Ruq'at-i-'Ālamgīri, Awrangzeb, n.d. p. 361
- (125) Ibid. p. 362
- (126) Şamṣām al-Dawlah, Ma'āthir al-Umarā', vol. I, p.228
- (127) Lāhori, op. cit.
- (128) Iḥsān Haqqī, Bakistānī Kadīhā wa Hādīrahā, Beirut, 1973, p. 96
- (129) Muḥammad Miyyān Dihlawī, 'Ulīyāmā'-i-Hind Kā Shāndār Mādī, Delhi, 1963, vol. I, p. 549
- (130) His collection of letters, Maktūbāt-i-Sa'īdiyyah, Lahore 1966, contains 9 selected letters addressed to Awrangzeb.
- (131) The collection of Khwājah's letters, Maktūbāt-i-Ma'şūmiyyah contains many letters addressed to various nobles and notables of India and outside.
- (132) Kamāl al-Dīn, Raḥat al-Qayyūmiyyah, Lahore, 1335 A.H. vol II. pp. 38-39.
- (133) Muḥammad Ikrām, Rūd-i-Kawthar, pp. 336,480-481,487-488
- (134) Muḥammad Miyyān Dihlawī, op. cit. pp. 553-554
- (135) For a fuller discussion on the compilation of Fatāwā 'Ālamgīri, Khurshīd Aḥmad, (Ed.), Chirāgh-i-Rāḥ-i-Ilāmī, Qanun Number, 1958 vol. I, pp.399-413, also M. Iḥṣāq Bhattī, op. cit. pp.257 - 380.
- (136) Shibli Nu'mānī, Kadāmin-i-'Ālamgīr, Gownpur, 1911,pp.120-122
- (137) Ibid. pp. 134-135
- (138) Ibid.
- (139) For further details, Shibli Nu'mānī, op. cit. pp. 4-14 ff.

LIFE AND TIMES OF SHAH WALIY ALLAH

A-. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Shah Waliy Allah was a little more than four years when¹⁾ Awrangzeb breathed his last at the age of 92. His death was that of a martyr. Old, weary and sick, he went on struggling to exterminate the anarchist and nihilist forces and to retard the rapid process of the degeneration of Muslim power. The dawn of eighteenth century saw the frail and bent emperor at war with the Jats in Muttra, with Chit Roy and Chatrasal Roy in Malwa, with the Satnamis in Patiala and Alwar, with the Sikhs in the Punjab, with the Rajputs in Marwar and with the²⁾ forceful rising tide of the Marathas in the Deccan. After a weary struggle of half a century Awrangzeb succeeded in containing these forces; but their total suppression was still in need of the continuation of Awrangzeb's campaigns. Awrangzeb had bequeathed his vast empire to his three sons. During his fifty years' reign Awrangzeb had, perhaps, apprehended the impossibility of keeping the Indian sub-continent united under a unitary government any more. He knew that his death would usher in period of decay when centrifugal forces would be strong enough for his inable and slothful successors to deal with. Therefore, he tried to initiate a process by which India would ultimately emerge as a federation consisting of several independent units. He divided the empire among his three sons.

But Awrangzeb's efforts to insure peace in the Empire were made utter failure by his three surviving sons who entered a horrible and internecine war to succeed to the throne of their father. The eldest son prince Mu'azzam Shah

was in Jamrud at that time. When he heard the news of his father's death he hastened to reach Agra. On his way to Agra he crowned himself as the Emperor of India with the title of Bahādur Shāh I. His accession was followed by a war with two other claimants, A'zam Shāh and Kām Bakshah. Bahādur Shāh succeeded in putting an end to both of them. Although no match with his celebrated father, Bahādur Shāh was able to maintain his policy for a few years. But his attitude had throughout been lenient and more peace-loving than necessary.

In spite of his leniency Bahādur Shāh could have managed to arrest the decline of the Empire had his life lasted a few years more. He had ascended the throne at the old age of sixty-five. His reign could only last five years and he died in March 1712. Prince 'Azīm al-Shāh was the ablest of his surviving sons and the strongest in resources. A clique was already formed against him by remaining three sons and a conspiracy was made to deprive him from power. The conspiracy was masterminded by the two most influential shī'ah nobles of the court Asad Khān and his son, Dhul Fiqār Khān.³⁾ As soon as the Emperor breathed his last the war broke out and the four sons were in such an indecent haste that the old man's dead body,⁴⁾ it is alleged, could not be buried for nearly a month.

'Azīm al-Shāh could not resist this joint confederacy and he lost the war leaving the throne to the stooges of Dhu'l Fiqār Khān. All the three remaining princes were killed and Mu'izzal-Dīn was raised to the throne as Jahāndār Shāh. Dhu'l Fiqār Khān became all-in-all in the Empire. From now onwards the ^{nobles became the} real contestants of power and the Emperors were reduced to be mere puppets and stooges. The evil genius of the Empire, Dhu'l Fiqār Khān, was a very clever man and a skilled conspirator. He had raised Jahāndār Shāh only for his

foolishness and inability; he knew that the Emperor would be a show-piece and the real power would remain in his own hands.⁵⁾ The Emperor passed his time in the company of loose women and specially his Hindu mistress, Lāl Kanwar or Lal Kumārī, a prostitute of Delhi.

Jahāndār Shāh could reign only about ten months. He was over-thrown by another clique formed by the famous Sayyids of Bārshah with Farrukh Siyar as their show-piece. Farrukh Siyar was a nephew of Jahāndār Shāh and had escaped the massacre of the princes because he was away from the scene as he was governor of Bengal. His Shi'ah mother made a common cause with Sayyid Hāssin 'Alī, the governor of Bihār and his brother Sayyid 'Abd Allāh, the governor of Allahabad. They marched on Delhi. Farrukh Siyar had proclaimed himself Emperor at Patna. He met the large army of Jahāndār Shāh near Khajwah where the former seized the treasures of the latter. Dhu'l Fiqār Khān wished to resist Farrukh Siyar's army but his father, Asad Khān convinced him of the futility of the exercise of offering any resistance. He said they only wanted a Mughal on the throne as their stooge and had nothing to do with the person of Jahāndār Shāh or any Emperor as long as their interests were safe.⁶⁾ Jahāndār Shāh personally led his men but when he saw that the situation was hopeless he fled from the battle-field, along with his favourite Lāl Kanwar in her howdah, shaving off his beard and monstaches to conceal his identity. They were both, however, killed soon and Farrukh Siyar entered Delhi as the Emperor of India. Dhu'l Fiqār Khān could not escape his fate. Before he could manage any access to his co-religionist, Hussin 'Alī Khān, he was arrested by a Sunni courtier of Farrukh Siyar and was produced before the Emperor who ordered his

(7)
execution.

Although Farrukh Siyar was proclaimed Emperor his position was no more than that of the later 'Abbassid Caliphs; the substance of power was in the hands of the Sayyid brothers, the Wakil-Muṭlaq Husain 'Alī Khān and the Wazīr 'Abd Allāh Khān. Even the royal household department was not under the discretion of the Emperor; he tried to acquire the sole authority of the appointing officials at least of his privy staff but even this authority could not be permitted to him by 'Abd Allāh Khān who threatened to create a law and order situation.⁸⁾ The Wazīr, 'Abd Allāh Khan, was a rakish and voluptuous man; he assigned all his powers practically to his Hindu secretary, Ratan Chand, who became key-man in the court. The most important step taken by these people soon after the accession of Farrukh Siyar was the abolition of Jizyah.⁹⁾

The Emperor tried to curtail the powers of Ratan Chand and his masters. Consequently, a horrible tussel between the Emperor and the Sayyid Brothers started which badly affected the political life of Delhi. Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm, the father of Shāh Waliy Allāh supported the Emperor and it was his influence which largely contributed to the prolegation of Farrukh Siyar's regime. It seems that Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm wanted to maintain, as far as possible, the prestige of the Emperor and the empire which was the only mainstay of the Muslim dominance in India. It was only within fifty days of Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's death that Farrukh Siyar was dethroned.¹⁰⁾ When the Sayyid brother at last decided to dethrone the Emperor, 'Abd Allāh Khān arranged a strike in the army and the demonstration of arms men in the city; it resulted in the blockade of the city and the stoppage of food and other commodities in Delhi. On the

other hand, Husain 'Ali Khān, who had already made a truce with the Marathas as the Governor of the Dacca and had agreed to pay the Chwth (one fourth of the total income) of the province to them, brought the Maratha forces into the capital which was already under tumults and disturbances caused by 'Abd Allah Khān. The rioters rushed into the Fort; the Emperor tried to save his life by hiding himself in the ladies' apartments. 'Abd Allah Khān dashed into the ladies apartments; princesses were raped and the Emperor was ~~then~~ taken captive, blinded and was put in a blackhole. ¹¹⁾

The dethronement of Farrukh Siyar was followed by unceasing riots and disturbances in the city. To put an end to them the proclamation of the new Emperor was necessary. No Mughal prince was easily available to be installed on the throne for all of them were ~~either~~ either killed or blinded. The sick and tuberculous Rāfi' al-Darajāt was at last discovered; he was a grandson of Aurangzeb and was imprisoned in the Fort. The situation was so critical that he was not given time even to have bath ^{or to} ~~change~~ change his cloths; he was enthroned and the proclamation was made, ¹²⁾ so that the situation should not worsen any more. Rāfi' al-Darajāt could reign only for three months and ten days. He was replaced after his death by his brother Rāfi' al-Dawlah. He was a young man of twenty and was a patient of diarrhoea. He also died after a few months leaving the throne to prince Nawshan Akhtar, a great-grandson of Aurangzeb. He was proclaimed Emperor as Muhammad Shāh on 15 Dhu'l Qa'dah 1131 A.H./29th September 1719. He was an intelligent young man of twenty years; he also proved a little ¹³⁾ stronger than his immediate predecessors. The Sayyids tried to maintain their upper hand in the new reign too but the new Emperor resented to this situation. He planned to put an end to the Sayyid king-makers and started to muster the support of anti Sayyid nobles

Before we proceed further following the course of events, it seems befitting to survey the forces that were at work in the political life of the Mughal India. An analysis of the anti-Muslim and Pro-Muslim forces would be useful in understanding the situation which followed the accession of Muḥammad Shāh; the assessment of the role played by different forces would be easier after the present survey.

The most doughty and formidable of these forces were the Marathas, the anarchist plunderers of Mahārāshtra who had organized highway robbery since Akbar and Jahāngir's period. The Bahmani sultanate tried to make the conditions in Mahārāshtra calm and peaceful but it failed to subject this vehement and youthful outburst to law and order. A tussle between the Marathas and the Bahmanis started in which Shivaji rose to be the leader of this nihilist group.¹⁵⁾ Aurangzeb met a considerable success in dealing a crushing blow to them after a long campaign of more than two decades. Had Aurangzeb's successors been able to maintain his policy a little more the Maratha menace would have been put to an end. The Maratha menace was not merely in their plundering and depredations in the Mughal territory, but they tried to exploit the sentiments of the entire Hindu population of the sub-continent against the Muslim dominance. They used the slogan Hindū-pad-pādshāhi (a purely Hindu empire) to muster the support of all Hindus population.

The Muslim nobles, on the other hand, did not realize fully the dimensions of the Maratha threat. Dhu'l Fiqār Khān, the Prime Minister was in close league with them; Hussain 'Ali was the first to take the Marathas to Delhi. He secured the help of 11000 Maratha force at a very heavy cost to linger to power.¹⁶⁾ The Sayyid brothers were able to depose Furrukh Siyar solely with the help of the

Maratha mercenaries. Their introduction in the capital and in the court was a fatal step. The mainstay of the Mughal empire in these days was its prestige which was badly injured by the Maratha intrusion into the capital. Moreover, it was a prelude to further Maratha depredations on the capital. Again and again Muḥammad Shāh was forced to purchase peace by paying them millions of rupees to avert their depredations. ¹⁷⁾ In August 1757 they made common cause with the Jats to attack Delhi; the capital was extricated from their hands by ^{the} ability and circumspection of Najīb al-Dawlah. Next year in April they captured Lahore. Now they were fast approaching to their so-called end, Hindu Pad-pādshāhī. On 9 Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1173 AH/3 August 1760 they captured Delhi and took possession of the Red Fort. Their scheme was to install Baswās Rao on the Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. Their schemes were shattered by the third battle of Panipat in 1761 and most of their leaders including Baswās Rao were killed. Their scheme had since long been to replace the Mughals in the sub-continent. Their sole programme was to raze the Muslim rule. Once the Maratha leader, Peshwā Bājī Rao remarked "what is the use of lopping off the branches? Strike at the trunk: when it is cut off, the branches will fall themselves. ¹⁸⁾

my The Marathas were a most cruel creatures. Whichever village or town they overrun, they captivated its girls and women; fastened them with ropes, their gangs raped the innocent ladies in succession. The ladies would cry ~~kap~~ in pain but in vain. Then the hooligans would put the entire village with its residents to flames. ¹⁹⁾ The prominent Hindu historian Jadu Nath Sarkar admits that the Marathas were a band of robbers and bandits. He also admits that they lived on plunders and bribes and used all immoral means ²⁰⁾ to satisfy their greedy and cupidity. The Marathas formed the most

horrible of the forces at work against the Mughal Empire. They enjoyed certain characteristics of which other forces were devoid. They were a compact group with a good geographical position making them out of the reach of the Mughals. They had a common language with a homogenous and much larger population than the Sikhs and the Jats. Moreover, they formed the majority of the population of their area, Mahārāshthra. ²¹⁾

Another Hindu power which played decisive role in shaking the Mughal rule were the Jats. They rose to prominence in the upper regions of the Doab during the time of Awrangzeb. After his death they found a good and favourable atmosphere to organize themselves and to take advantage of the growing weakness of the Mughals. The internecine ¹ quarrels between Muslim nobles provided a golden opportunity to the Jats to establish their kingdom with its center in Bharatpūr. ²²⁾ During the last decades of Awrangzeb's reign, the Emperor's absence from the north had encouraged them to take the advantage. They initiated their military organization; every member of Jat peasantry was trained in the use of swords and gun. The trained Jats were provided with weapons. To carry on their plunders they had built their dens called Garhis; these Garhis were in fact small forts in thick and dense forests. Their mud- ²³⁾ walls were so strong that they withstood even the cannonade. Here a brief history of the Jats and their historical background ~~of~~ their ascendancy would be useful to assess their actual position.

In the south and south-west of Delhi the area of Mewat and Bharatpūr is situated at about one hundred and forty miles. According to Hindu religious tradition the area enjoys a sanctity and reverence for being the birth-place of Shri Krishna, the great religious leader of the Hindus, and the habitat of his family and

progeny. Since the hey-days of Mughal period the area had been the jāgīr of the members of royal family. Once Nūr Jahān had also been its jāgīrdār. A good number of the population of this area is Jat who have never been in majority yet always enjoyed dominance and supremacy. The Muslims among the Jats came to be called Mewatis; but their culture, social customs, political relations and the relations in war and peace had, till recent-²⁴⁾ past, been similar to the their Hindu counter-parts. With the emergence of the symptoms of decline in the Mughal empire, they developed ambitions to become independent of the central authority and carve out from the Mughal Empire a state of their own. Badan Singh rose to be the leader of the Jats. By early twenties of the eighteenth century he succeeded in acquiring the power and position of a big potentate in the area with Bharatpūr as his capital. Badan Singh ruled more than 33 years and died in 1756/1170. He was succeeded by his son Sūraj Mal, the most active, circumspect and shrewd among his twenty-two brothers. Sūraj Mal soon acquired a very important position in the Indian politics. Apart from his ambitious nature, circumspection and shrewdness, he was the all-powerful master of the Jats. No power could ignore him. Over-ambitious and encouraged by the sickness of Najib al-Dawlah, Sūraj Mal attacked Delhi in 1764/1177 but met a crushing defeat in which²⁵⁾ he was killed.

The Jats were only a counterpart of the Marathas in plundering, looting and terrorizing. Their gangs would lash out of their garhis, attack the nearby forts, towns or villages, loot and plunder them. People were so terrified by their rapine and havoc that some of the lords and nobles even vacated their forts and castles whenever they apprehended any Jat depredation.²⁶⁾ In one of his letters Shāh Waliy Allāh has also portrayed a Jat depreda-

tion of Delhi. He writes; "A terrible calamity befell on Delhi; the Jat infidels looted and plundered the old city of Delhi and the government was totally unable to push them out. Innumerable wealth was plundered and dishonoured; houses were put to raze. The catastrophe took place in early Rajab 1161 A.H. (June 1748) and continued till late in Shawbān (27)

Another force at work for the disintegration of Muslim dominance was that of the Sikhs. It emerged as the most vehement and aggressive political military organization with a fresh and strong religious background, in the Punjab and especially in its eastern districts. The atrocities of the Sikhs against the innocent Muslim population of the Punjab even put the cruelties of the Marathas and the Jats into eclipse. A student wonders when he sees a movement started for quite peaceful purposes and to exterminate the religious animosity from amongst the followers of different religions, and then it turns into a ferocious gang of bandits and terrorists. The Sikh movement was, in fact, among the religious reform movements emerged among the Hindus under the impact of Muslim religion, theology and mysticism. Its founder Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), a Hindu religious divine, is said to be a very broadminded man who believed in monotheism, morality and social justice. He was much influenced by the teachings of Islam and had inculcated many an Islamic ideal in his ideology. He had also been associated with some sufis of the Chishti order and was initiated into mystic training.

The movement could successfully maintain the policy of its founder; it remained on cordial terms with the Muslim rulers and masses. Bābar showed respect to the leader of the movement; Akbar demonstrated even more humble relations to his contemporary Gurū; he even went to the extent that he remitted the entire revenue of

the province of Punjab for one year on the request of Gurū Arjuna. ³¹⁾
The vast area of land where the city of Amritsar situates was also
awarded by Akbar to ~~Guru~~ Gurū Arjuna. Perhaps the Gurū misunder-
stood Akbar's generosity with him and his denomination; he
transformed his sect into a politico-military organization with
Amritsar as its center. He levied heavy taxes on his followers and
not without resentment. ³²⁾ On the death of Akbar, Gurū Arjuna openly
supported Khusraw against Jahāngīr in their tussel for the throne.
Khusraw was also supported by a group of other influential Hindu
nobles. After Khusraw's defeat, Gurū Arjuna gave him refuge in his
town. Jahāngīr naturally resented it and punished the Gurū. This
was the origin of an unceasing Sikh-Muslim animosity. A later Gurū
Har Roy Matu openly and fully supported Dūrā Shikūh against
Awrangzeb. ³³⁾ In their famous war of succession in 1661. During the
reign of Awrangzeb Gurū Tegh Bahādur tried to initiate a rising in
Kashmir and consequently, he was executed by Awrangzeb. The Sikhs
once tried to assassinate Awrangzeb during the reign of their Gurū
Gobind Singh (d. 1708). ³⁴⁾ Having no other alternative Awrangzeb
smashed their organization. Had Awrangzeb's successors inflicted
them with a few more heavy and successive blows they could never
be able to rise again. *but remains as unshakable!*

The internecine quarrel which followed Awrangzeb's death
provided them a golden opportunity to rise more violently and
emerge as a destructionist anarchist group of barbarians. ³⁵⁾ Their
ascendancy in the Punjab ushered in the darkest period of the
history of Punjab; their atrocities run into proverbs even today.

These were major non-Muslim forces that were at work against
Muslim dominance in the sub-continent. We have not taken East
India Company into this account because they were far from the
scene watching the developments from Bengal and Madras. Their

active and direct role in Indian politics began in the later half of eighteenth century. There were, however, some strong and influential groups among the Muslims which we shall presently survey.

The most important clique among the Muslim nobles was that of the Sayyid of Bārah. During the reign of Farrukh Siyar they reached the climax of their power and they enjoyed this position during three consecutive reigns. For about twenty years they actually ruled Mughal India as king-makers. Originally from Wasit, near Baghdad, their ancestor came to India in seventh/thirteenth century along with his twelve sons. They finally settled in Muzaffarnagar district and after the death of Awrangzeb the family won much repute. Later on Sayyid 'Abd Allah Khān and Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khān rose to prominence; both of them were awarded a pile of pompous titles and great manṣabs by Farrukh Siyar. It were the Sayyid brothers who encouraged the Marathas and patronized them to strengthen their position more and more; it were they who introduced them in the politics and intrigues of the central government and thereby curtailed much of the prestige of the central government. They permitted the Marathas to appoint their agents in the Mughal Empire to collect Chowth tax, land and other revenues. Marathas were lavishly given big and important posts in various departments. And they also, in turn, rendered their fullest possible support to the Sayyids in the execution of their schemes. ³⁷⁾

It would ^{be} absurd to think that the Sayyid brothers did not foresee the consequences of their follies; how could they be so blind and oblivious of the committed aims and designs of the Marathas. Since one hundred years their leaders had been making clear pronouncements about their intentions to establish a Hindu-

38)
Pad Padshāhi in India. The cupidity and greed of the Sayyid brothers and their lust for power induced them to turn to the Jats as well. 'Abd Allah Khān accepted a bribe of two million rupees from the Jat leader Chhō Bhan and forced the Emperor Farrukh Siyar to make trade with the Jats.

Another Muslim power which deserves special mention for its constructive role was that of the Rohillals. Originally from Afghanistan, they had come to India in early eighteenth century and settled mostly in area of Bareilly, Mao, Pālibhīt, Bijnor and their vicinity. Comparatively fresh in the sub-continent, they were free from the drawbacks and shortcomings that formed the characteristics of most of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Full of vigour, they tried in their peculiar Afghan way to support the orthodoxy to retain its domination in the sub-continent, Rohillas produced a glaxy of sincere hard-working and intellegent leaders who tirelessly toiled for bolstering up the orthodox forces. Najib al-Dawlah and Hāfiz Rahmat Khān were the most prominent Rohilla leaders of eighteenth century. There was another group of Afghans, the Bangash who was led by Muhammad Khān Bangash. The succeeded in founding a small and short-lived principality in ⁴⁰⁾ Frukhabād.

Even the most superficial observer of the history of eighteenth century Muslim India would easily notice that the Muslim nobles were divided in two broad camps; the Shī'ah or the Irani camp led first by the Sayyids of Bārhaḥ and then by Safdar Jang and his successors and the Sunni or Turani-Afghan nobles led by Najib al-Dawlah, Nizām al-Mulk and others. The history of the Mughal Empire after Awrangzeb ⁴¹⁾ is but the history of their power-tussel.

We return to the point we left our discussion, Muḥammad Shāh was raised to the throne by the all-powerful Sayyid brothers. Although he was intellegent and somewhat stronger, he was in the

beginning more dependant on the Sayyids. He, however, resented to this state of affairs and soon tried to free himself from their supremacy. He started to rely more and more on the anti-Sayyid nobles who were already in league with each other to depose the Sayyids. Muhammad Shāh won over Nizām al-Mulk, the leader of the anti-Sayyids and a prominent Turāni noble. He had a great influence and following in the Deccan where Husain 'Alī was governor since many years. After mustering necessary support at the center Nizām al-Mulk turned to the Deccan; he wanted to stand in the way of the two brothers and first to deal with Husain 'Alī Khān. Apprehending the danger, Husain 'Alī Khān initiated the offensive against Nizām al-Mulk and marched to deal with him at the head of a large army. The Emperor was ostensibly on the Sayyid's side but in fact his sympathies were with the Nizām. Husain 'Alī Khān was killed and Ratan Chand, the evil genius of the Sayyids was imprisoned. 'Abd Allāh Khān, receiving the news of the murder of his brother, collected a large army to take the revenge from Nizām al-Mulk and the Emperor. They hastened back to the north to deal with 'Abd Allāh Khān. But before his arrival in Delhi, 'Abd Allāh Khān enthroned a brother of Rāfi' al-Darajāt as Ibrāhīm Shāh. On November 14, 1720 the Emperor and the Nizām reached Delhi and defeated the forces of 'Abd Allāh Khān, who was captured alive. (42) Soon Nizām al-Mulk was invited by the Emperor and was appointed Wazir. The situation, thus, began to improve under Nizām al-Mulk.

Muslim India could have started the process of improvement and stabilization with more vigour and acceleration if it would have been let to remain peaceful under the able leadership of Nizām al-Mulk. He had a vast experience of administration and had served under Aurangzeb. He had, thus, a clear model before him on which he tried to reorganize the administration of the Empire. But the unscrupulous

discipline and austerity of the Wazir soon created jealousy, and later animosity, towards him in the minds of idle and pleasure-loving courtiers of the gay and mirthful Emperor. The disciple of Awrangzeb tried his best to convince the young Emperor ^{to} give serious attention to the affairs of the Empire; but his sincere advices created a bad blood between him and the Emperor. So disgusted with the affairs of the ~~saunax~~ center, he retired to the Deccan where he was viceroy and started his reforms there. The Emperor tried to obstruct him even in the Deccan, but Nizām al-Mulk's tact, shrewdness and experience ⁴³⁾ overcame all the intrigues. Nizām al-Mulk was succeeded in the viceroyalty of the Deccan by members of his family and it became a hereditary office in the House of Nizām.

In the meantime Sa'adat Khān acquired the governorship of Awadh. He had originally come from Iran and soon distinguished himself as a good and skilled general. He also played some role in the suppression of the Sayyid brothers. In 1722 he was appointed to the governorship of Awadh. He also fiercely dealt with the Marathas in the area of Doab. In 1739 Sa'adat Khān died and his nephew Safdar Jang succeeded him; Safdar Jang also acquired the Wizarat of the Mughal Empire later on.

The mortal blow to whatever was left of the dignity and prestige of the Mughal Empire came from the invasion of Nādir Shāh. He was a petty chieftain of the Afghān tribe of Iran. Exploiting the opportune moments there he had installed himself as the ruler of the country. First he tried to expand his territories in the West and north-west; in this connection he made several attacks on Ottoman territories but failed and was severely beaten away by ⁴⁴⁾ the Turks. Then he moved to the east and overrunning the entire Afghanistan he entered India through Khayber. He captured Lahore

in January 1739. From Lahora, he sent several letters to Muhammad ⁴⁵⁾ Shāh; but the merry-making Emperor did not even care to reply.

Nādir Shāh arrived in the vicinity of Delhi. Nizām al-Mulk also appeared on the scene and joined the Mughal forces to withstand the Persian onslaught. But suddenly the war broke out due to the follies of Sa'ādat Khān. The Mughals were severely defeated. Now Nizām al-Mulk tried to persuade Nādir to accept war indemnities of five million rupees. ⁴⁶⁾ Nādir Shāh was willing to accept this offer but before Nizām al-Mulk could finalize the agreement, his political rival, the Shī'ah Nawab of Awadh, Sa'ādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk incited the Iranian invader to plunder the capital where he (Nādir Shāh) could find much larger amounts of wealth than the small indemnity.

Consequently, aroused by a robber's instinct, Nādir Shāh entered Delhi on 20 March 1739. He only wanted to plunder the wealth and the imperial treasuries but he got furious on some insulting acts from the citizens; he ordered a general massacre. The butchery lasted throughout the day and about one hundred and twenty thousand men were massacred. At last Nizām al-Mulk personally presented himself before Nādir Shāh and appealed to him to stop the massacre. The appeal was accepted and the blood-bath was ⁴⁷⁾ stopped. Now loot and plunder was started. Heavy indemnities were levied on different lords, nobles and prominent citizens of the city. The entire Royal Treasury was appropriated; the marvellous Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān was taken away. The Peacock Throne carried, apart from its golden substance, the precious stones and jewels cost twenty million rupees. The other jewels, precious stones, cloths and furnitures plundered from the ⁴⁸⁾ Fort and other houses of the nobles cannot be estimated. The total ⁴⁹⁾ cash confiscated was estimated up to seven hundred million rupees. By this invasion Nādir Shāh accumulated so much wealth that he remitted all taxes, revenues and duties in

50)
Iran for three years.

The year 1748 saw the passing away of both Niẓām al-Mulk and Muḥammad Shāh. Their death was coincided with the emergence of semi-independent principalities throughout India: every province exercised independent powers not only in the matters of administration but also in dealing with other principalities and with foreign powers and European companies. In the center Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by Aḥmad Shāh. The Nawab of Awadh, Ṣāfdar Jang, was appointed Wazīr; Ṣāfdar Jang was a selfish and mean person. He was jealous of Sunnis especially of Rohillas and other Afghans. He tried to crush the Bangash and the Rohillas both. Failing to do any harm to them he invited the Jats, the Marathas and the English forces in the vicinity of the Capital to suppress the Afghans. This selfish and impolitic move of Ṣāfdar Jang produced tremendous effects on the later course of events in the north.

The relations between Aḥmad Shāh and Ṣāfdar Jang started to grow bitter and bitter. In 1753 he openly revolted against the Emperor and brought a Jat depredation along with Sūrāj Mal in the Delhi. Both the parties plundered the city for four months. All the 51) Sunni nobles including Najīb al-Dawlah and, Ghāzi al-Dīn joined the Emperor's side. The Shī'ah nobles joined the camp of Ṣāfdar Jang and the Jats.

In 1754 (1167) 'Imād al-Mulk blinded the Emperor and raised Alamgir II to the throne. 'Imād al-Mulk, the Wazīr, although a grandson of a great man like Niẓām al-Mulk, but he was juxtaposed to his brilliant grand-father. Selfish, treacherous, and characterless he ruled Delhi as a despot for more than five years. For his power he relied on the Marathas and not only he but the Empire also had to pay heavily for it. The Marathas only wanted to squeeze as much money from Delhi as possible; for this purpose they would use

harshest measures and prosecute the people in the worst manner. It was perhaps due to these disastrous persecutions of the inhabitants of Delhi that they once decided to commit a collective suicide. Shah Waliy Allah took pains in dissuading them from doing so; he addressed them in thrilling manner and recounting the tales of Karbalā' he was able to raise their morale. 52)

In the same year Qafdar Jang died and was succeeded by his son Shuja' al-Dawlah as the Nawb-Wazir of Awadh. But he remained an absentee Wazir and all the powers were detained by 'Imād al-Mulk and Najib al-Dawlah successively.

In the meantime the Marathas had captured Lahore and Sarhind. Ahmad Shāh Abdali, the Afghan monarch rushed to the Punjab to push the Marathas away. After expelling them from the Punjab, he moved to Delhi. The Wazir, Intizām al-Dawlah, feared lest the Emperor create a difficulty for him with the help of the Afghan monarch; he killed the Emperor and placed a puppet prince under the title of Shāh Jahān III. As soon as the Afghan ruler approached near Delhi Intizām al-Dawlah foresaw his fate and fled to the Jats and took the shelter with Gūraj Raj. Ahmad Shāh entered Delhi in January 1757 and setting the affairs right, he put Najib al-Dawlah at the helm of affairs there and returned to Afghanistan.

This was briefly a narrative of the political events in which Shāh Waliy Allah set himself the task of reviving the power and prestige of the Muslim empire in the Sub-continent. How far he was able to realize his political goals will be discussed later on. Now let us briefly recount the social and intellectual

conditions prevailed in Muslim India during and soon after the life-time of Shāh Waliy Allah. It would serve as a necessary background for the clear assessment of Shāh Waliy Allah's work in these fields.

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FOOT NOTES

1. He died on Friday 23 Mu'l Qa'dah 1118, March 3, 1707 in his camp near Ahmadnagar; Cf. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 76.
2. For details of these campaigns, Richard Burn (Ed.) Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 281-318.
3. A History of Freedom Movement, Edited by Mahmūd Husain, Vol. I, Karachi, 1957, p. 86.
4. Tara Chand, History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol. I, Delhi, Calcutta, 1961, p. 46.
5. Zaka' Allāh, Tārīkh Hindustān, Vol. IX, pp. 89-90.
6. Muḥammad Miẓān Dihlawī, Ulamā-i-Hind kā Shāndār Mādī. Vol. II, Muzdabad, n.d., pp. 255-256.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. p. 257
9. History of Freedom Movement, Ed. Mahmūd Husain, Vol. I, Karachi, 1957. p. 91
10. Shāh Waliy Allāh, Anfās al-ʿArifīn, p. 62 Cf. Niẓāmī, Khaliq Aḥmad, Tārīkh Mashā'ikh-i-Chishtī, op. cit., p. 357.
11. Muḥammad Miẓān Dihlawī, op. cit. pp. 86-87.
12. Muḥammad Miẓān Dihlawī, op. cit. p. 87.
13. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 94.
14. Ibid. pp. 95 et seq.
15. For his life and times, Sarkar, Jadunath, Shivaji and His Times, Calcutta, 1961.
16. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, pp. 91-92 et seq.
17. Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. II, pp. 277-78.

18. Quoted in I.H. Qureshi, The Muslim Community in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, The Hague, 1962, p. 175.
19. Sarker, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 86-88.
20. Sarker, Jadunath, Shivaji and His Times, op. cit. pp. 12-13.
21. Tara Chand, History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol I pp. 101-102.
22. Ibid.
23. Sarker, Jadunath, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, pp. 296-297.
24. In the third decade of twentieth century, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās started his well-known Tablīgh movement among the Mawātīs. His efforts soon bore good fruits and he was able to effect a marvellous change in the social and religious life of the people. For fuller discussions, Abu'l Hasan 'Alī Nadwī, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās Aur Unki Dīni Dā'wat, Delhi, 1946, pp. 65-137.
25. For details, Najm al-Ghānī, Muḥammad, Maqā'ī-i-Raiṣṭhān.
26. Eg. Dhikr-i-Mir, Awrangabad, 1928, Introduction by 'Abd al-Ghānī p. I.
27. Shāh Waliy Allah, Siyāsī Makṭūbāt, Edited by Nizāmi, Khaliq Ahmad, Aligarh, n.d. p. 89.
28. I.H. Qureshi, Muslim Community, pp. 118-120.
29. Nizāmi, Īrīkh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, pp. 313-314.
30. Ibid, pp. 314-315.
31. Zaka' Allah, Īrīkh-i-Hindustān, Vol. IX, p. 52.
32. Ibid. p. 5.
33. Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 77.
34. Muḥammad Nāqī Musta'id Khān, Ma'āthir-Ālamgiri, p. 154.
35. For details Ghulām Ḥusain Tabātābā'i, Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirin, Lucknow, 1314, Vol III, pp. 919 ff; Vol II, pp. 400-403.

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Aurangzeb
Shivaji

36. Why they are called Sayyids of Bārah or Bārhan is highly disputed, Cf. Urdu Dā'irah Ma'ārif-i-Islāmiyyah, Lahore, Vol. 3, pp. 918-920.
37. For more details, Zaka' Allah, Tārīkh Hindustān, Vol. IX pp. 130-149.
38. I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, Karachi, 1972, p. 102 f.n.
39. Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. I, pp. 326-327.
40. For the history of the Bangash, Farrukhābādī, Waliy Allah, Mufti, 'Ahd-i-Bangash, Urdu translation by Hakīm Sharīf al-Zamān, Karach, 1965.
41. Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 9
42. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, pp. 94-96.
43. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, pp. 246-249.
44. For some details of Nādir Shāh's encroachments against the Ottoman Empire, Muḥammad Farīd Bey, Tārīkh al Dawlah al-'Alīyyah al-'Uthmāniyyah, Cairo, 1314, pp. 147-148
45. A History of Freedom Movement, pp. 102-103.
46. The exact amount of the proposed indemnity is given five millions by Abu' l Layth Siddīqī, Lakhnau Kā Dabistān-i-Shā'ir Lahore, 1967, p. 28; S. Muin al-Haq, however, gives the amount twenty million Cf. A History of Freedom Movement, p. 10
47. A History of Freedom Movement, p. 105
48. Ibid. pp. 105-106.
49. Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. II, pp. 371
50. 'Ahd-i-Bashīd, A Short History of Pakistan, Edited by I.H. Qureshi, Karachi, 1967. Vol. III, p. 131.
51. See Supra, Also History of Freedom Movement, pp. 108-109.
52. Niẓāmī, Khaliq Ahmad, Tārīkh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht pp. 330-1

B- . SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The political decay of a people is always preceded by its social disintegration. It is the social integrity which is the mainstay of the political domination of a people. It has been the fashion among historians to trace the causes of the collapse of Mughal Empire in the policies of Awangzeb; the causes lie far beyond Awangzeb. The easy circumstances and gay life of the period of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān had naturally curtailed the militant spirit of the Mughals of the days of Bābar and Humāyūn. Mughal lords, nobles and military chiefs were now used to laziness and indolence. Himself ^(an) indomitable, tireless, circumspect and diligent, Awrangzeb could not change the mentality and disposition of the people developed during a period of about one century. Awrangzeb was a strong barrier in the face of a dreadful storm of social anarchy and prevented it from emerging for half a century. In his death Muslim India saw the passing away of a patriarch who would restrain his untalented, stupid and thoughtless progeny from ~~ag~~ getting indulged into a moral crisis by the strong check of his dominating personality. His death ushered in a period of grave moral and social crisis which was further accelerated and aggravated by the follies and debaucheries of his successors.

Jahāndār Shāh was infatuated with Lāl Kunwar, an infamous and ignominious prostitute of Delhi; the stories of her libertinism and lewd character are well-known. She acquired so much power and influence in the affairs of the state that no one could challenge her authority. Her lavish wastage of money cost the Imperial Exchequer the big amount of twenty million rupees. The lightening and illumination in her dance and song parties consumed so much oil that the capital city

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of Delhi suffered from a shortage of kerosene oil. This moral laissez-faire in the Royal House encouraged the princesses of Hindu origin to publicly denounce Islam. When Farrukh Siyar was deposed by the Sayyid brothers, one of his Rajput wives was expelled from the fort by Sayyid 'Abd Allah Khān. While leaving the Fort she not only took ten million rupees with her but also publicly denounced Islam. This created great unrest among the masses; the ulama also vehemently criticized her action but without any result.²⁾ This event must have naturally left its impact over the religious integrity of Muslim masses. The short period of Jahāndār Shāh left a tremendous impact over Muslim society of the sub-continent. Hitherto Muslim society was not so licentious as to publicly allow or tolerate the violation of the moral code of Islam. Among earlier rulers, there were men who by no standard could be considered as the true representatives of Muslim morality but their violation of Islamic taboos was mostly personal. They did commit crimes but in the darkness of night and in the solitude of the palace. The masses could not be affected by their lewd and licentious practices. But Jahāndār Shāh not only smashed the check of popular disapproval but also popularized the pattern of life he adopted. Commenting on his reign Zaka Allah writes; "The brief reign of Jahāndār Shāh saw the strengthening of the foundations of immorality and licentiousness. Qawwāls, Singers and musicians gave much currency to their arts. The storm of immorality was just to make the Qādis and the Muftis drunkards."⁽³⁾

The licentious and gay life of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, the effete and careless, won him the title Rangilā (depraved and lewd). He introduced loose women as an important element into the affairs of the state. He married a Hindu dancing-girl Odham Bai who gave birth to Ahmed Shāh, the future Emperor of India. Her relatives

Is this more advisable?

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were naturally dancers and vocalists; they were awarded with high titles and big manqabs. Odham Bai herself acquired so much power and influence that she was considered the real monarch. The lords and nobles of the Empire would go to her place and get orders through her eunuchs. She also raised some of the eunuchs to high positions and manqabs. (4) Muhammad Shāh's period saw the rising influence of another woman; she was a pet girl of Muhammad Shāh's mother and was very dear to her. By and by she acquired so much influence that she became the Royal Seal Master and all the royal decrees passed through her. She also took active part in all court intrigues. She received high bribes from different lords and secured for them big positions, titles and manqabs. (5)

Social disorder always results in a moral chaos; the classes of upstarts generally grow in an epoch of social and moral anarchy. When a society is dominated by upstarts it not only permeates with their morals and mentality but other constructive values also fade away. The Muslim community of the sub-continent passed through this process in the middle and late eighteenth century. As a result of this, a horrible and destructive competition in extravagance, pleasure-making and other useless pursuits rapidly started among the well-to-do families. Every coming young man lavishly wasted what his forefathers had taken pains in collecting for him. Princes, poets, landlords, every one was addicted to waste the resources amassed by the ancestors. Some people reacted to this situation just reversely. Instances are not rare of the people frustrated from the decay of Muslim political power and the social and moral disintegration of Muslim community and resorted to asceticism. (7)

The mental and spiritual conflict brought in its wake "a moral crisis of such proportion that brought the work of centuries crashing down to destruction". Effeminate rulers and princes not only undid the fabric of manly-morals of the Muslim community but also initiated an effeminate movement in almost every aspect of life. This movement was horribly accelerated by the womanish Nawab - wazirs of Awadh especially since the age of Shujā' al-Dawlah (d. 1775). He used to pass his time in the company of idle and loose women. Even during his journeys he kept the regular camps of prostitutes with him. This atmosphere could only give birth to obscenity in poetry. Mu'āmalah Bandid, Rakhtī and Wāsokht in Urdu literature are the remnants of this period. The moral and social life of Lakhnaw (Lucknow) was described by a contemporary Urdu poet in his couplets:

May God keep the merry-making (youngmen) of Lucknow prosperous; every house of them is a wedding-house and every corner a corner of pleasure-mongering. Another contemporary visiter of Faizabad, capital of Awadh, gives his observations in these words: "Everywhere in the city I came across bands of dancers and singers ... Since the dawn upto night and from the sunrise upto sunset I used to hear voices of drum-beating and playing on other musical instruments... In the city one could see musicians, singers, Qawwāls, buffoons and prostitutes from every city(of India) wandering in the streets." " Such deep infiltration of prostitutes in the social life raised their social status. Brothers of Lucknow were taken as the centers of civilization. People used to visit the prostitutes for learning social manners and etiquettes.

This comes only in the last part.

ہر گھر شادی کا گھر ہے اور ہر کونہ ہنسی کا گھر ہے

(10)

(11)

(12)

Then in early nineteenth century, the substance of power was transferred from the Court of Awadh to East India Company, they focussed their attention to leisurely pursuits. A curious mixture of feminism and Shi'ism was developed which reached an odious proportion during the days of Naqir al-Din Haider and Wajid Ali Shah. Muslim masses could not remain unaffected by these developments for any longer time. This was added by the growing Hindu domination which, encouraged by their violent political risings, deeply affected Muslim culture and civilization (13) (14)

The social disintegration brought in its wake a grave financial crisis. Towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign the center of gravity of the economic life of Muslim India had shifted to Bengal. The major portion of Aurangzeb's heavy expenditures were met from the revenues of Bengal. The integrity and security of Bengal was, therefore, of utmost importance for the survival of Muslim power in the sub-continent. Murshid Quli Khan played a very constructive and prominent role in preserving the political and economic integrity of that province. He was one of the most trusted and ablest administrators appointed by Aurangzeb. By his towering personality he could be able to save the province from the economic and political infiltration of the English and other Western Companies. But not only to the misfortune of the province of Bengal but also to the misfortune of the Mughal Empire, this brilliant and efficient governor was removed from his post only a few months after the death of Aurangzeb by his successor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. The situation was further engraved by the follies of Farrukh Siyar. In 1714 he permitted East India Company a free trade in Bengal and India and remitted all revenues and duties from them. East India Company took full advantage of this privilege; it gradually strengthened its political and economic

position. They raised an army of their own on the pretext of defending their colonies and trade centers. And only after forty three years from the grant of this privilege, they were able to defeat Siraj al-Dawlah, a successor of Murshid Quli Khan, in the battle of Plassey in 1757. The conquest of Bengal only meant the seizure of the jugular vein of India economy by the Company.

The process of economic disintegration was accelerated by the lavish expenditure of the successors of Aurangzeb. In spite of his prodigal and exhausting campaigns in the Deccan, Aurangzeb had bequeathed for his degenerate successors a cash of two hundred and forty million rupees in the Fort of Agra alone. (15) All this money was wasted in luxury, merry-making and useless pursuits. The economic strength of the Mughal Empire so rapidly degenerated that the accession of Farrukh Siyar was ridiculed by the well-known satirist Mir Jafar Zataili as having issued pea and wheat as the currency and coins. (17) But this would be wrong to conclude that the Mughal Empire had financially collapsed. As late as in 1739 Nādir Shāh could plunder a cash of more than seven hundred million rupees from Delhi alone. (18)

It was Nādir Shāh's devastating plunder which was the starting point of the financial collapse of the Mughal Empire. During the reign of Ahmad Shāh (1748-1754) the economic and financial crisis grew to be worse and worse. Soldiers could not be paid their salaries for three consecutive years. At last they resorted to create disturbances in the capital. A noble who could not pay the dues of the soldiers under his command died; his dead body was prevented from being buried for four days by the soldiers. (19) The Fort became almost insolvent during the reign of 'Ālamgīr II (1167 A.H./1754-1173 A.H./1759). The royal exchequer could not even bear the expenditure of royal household. Some ladies of the

Imperial House, even princesses, had to go without food for three
(20)
days. They were, however, saved from being starved to death by a
(21)
prince who managed to get some curry for them from state alms-house.
Side by side with these instances we also come across men of letters
who joined hands with the East Indian Company and led a life of
(22)
economic well-being and prosperity.

The situation gave rise to many ambitious upstarts whose
sole wish was to display the vanity, pomp and show of a ruler. For
this purpose they tried to gather around them people who quickly
changed their loyalties. Moreover, the parasites are found in such
a large abundance in this period that its parallel is not even
conceived in earlier history.

The last ~~ever~~ crushing blow to the integrity of Muslim
society came from the invasions of Nadir Shah and Abdali. Delhi
no more enjoyed the position of a center of learning and culture.
The economic decay of the empire made it unable to patronize men
(23)
of letters. Many a poet, scholar and literary man left Delhi. This
exodus of mind and spirit was not without its impacts on the
society and cultural life of Muslim India. Among those who left
Delhi for Lucknow or Faizabad were Siraj al-Din Arzu, Mirza Saad, Mir
Taqi Mir, Qalandar Bakhsh Jurel, Insha'Allah Khan Insha',
(24)
Mas'hafi and many others.

FOOTNOTES

1. Irwine, Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 397
2. Sayyid Shāh al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, Hindustān Ke Musalmān Hukmānon Ke 'Abd Ke Tanadduni Jalwe, Azamgarh, 1963, pp. 203-204.
3. Zaka Allah, Tārīkh-i-Hindustān, Vol. IX p. 89.
4. Ibid, pp. 172-173.
5. Ibid. p. 172, quoting Muntakhab al-lubāb, p. 940
6. E.g. (Sawdā d. 1117) Tārīkh-i-Adabiyyāt-i-Pāk Wa Hind, Vol. VII, p. 94, Lahore, 1971; the examples can be multiplied.
7. E.g. Shaghkh Sharaf al-Dīn Maqmūn (d. 1147/1735) Cf. Āzād, Muḥammad Husayn, Āb-i-Hayāt, Lahore, 1970, p. 70.
8. Cf. Qureshi, Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, p. 162
9. For fuller discussion, Abu'l Layth Siddiqī, Lakhnow Kā Dabistān-i-Shā'irī, p. 40 cf. seq.
10. Cf. 'Abd al-Hayy, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Azamgarh, 1370, p. 342.
11. Fayd Baksh, Shahīd, Tārīkh-i-Farāh Baksh (manuscript) quoted by Abu'l Layth Siddiqī, Lakhnow Kā Dabistān-i-Shā'irī, pp. 29-30.
12. Tārīkh-i-Adabiyyāt-i-Pāk Wa Hind, Vol. V p. 17. This obnoxious practice was even extant in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
13. For the social conditions in Awadh during the reign of Naṣīr al-Dīn Haider, 'Abd al-Aḥad Rābiṭ Badshāh Baigam Awadh: Waqā'i' Dilladār, (Urdu translation), Karachi, 1961.
14. For details, Dargāh Qulī Khān, Muraqqā'at-i-Dihli, pp. 28-29.
15. For the life and times of Murshid Qulī Khān, 'Abd al-Karīm, Murshid Qulī Khān and His Times, Dacca, 1963.

16. Irwin, Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 21.
17. Tārīkh-i-Adabiyāt-i-Pak-ū-Hind, Vol V, p. 40.
18. Irwin, Later Mughals, Vol. II, pp. 370-371.
19. Shākir Khān Panī Patī, Tadhkirah-i-Shākir Khānī
p. 34, quoted in Nizāmi, Khaliq Ahmad, (Ed.) Shāh Waliy
Allah Ke Siyāsī Maktūbāt, Notes, n. 162.
20. Tārīkh-i-Ālamgīr Jihānī, (Ed.) p. 190. quoted by
Nizāmi, op. cit., Introduction, p. 3.
21. Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 37.
22. Eg. the poet Ashraf 'Alī Khān Fughān, Āb-i-Hayāt, p. 92.
23. Āzād, Āb-i-Hayāt, pp. 90-91.
24. Abu'l Laghā Siddiqī, Lakhnaw Kā Dabistān-i-Shā'irī
pp. 32-33.

INTELLECTUAL CONDITIONS

C-. INTELLECTUAL CONDITIONS

Although ^{the} orthodox movement of the Naqshbandi order in gen general and the Mujaddid in particular had won in regaining the political ascendancy in the person of Aurangzeb, its success could only be partial and short-lived. It did succeed in refining the Tasawwuf and bringing it into conformity with the shar'. It did succeed in making the thinking and sensitive Muslim apprehend the danger of the cultural and spiritual infiltration of the Hindus. And to some extent it also succeeded in replacing the exhausted chishti order with the youthful and fresh Naqshbandi order. But as regards a general Islamic revival in all aspects of life, the Mujaddid's mission could not be crowned with full success. Even the towering personality of Aurangzeb and his indefatigable struggle of more than half a century could not bring about solid and lasting change in the social and intellectual life of Muslim India.

The foundations of Muslim society of India had been so enfeebled by the religious policies of Akbar and the indifference of Jahangir that its reconstruction was next to impossible. The Muslim community was cracked from within. A minority can sustain itself against a majority by its intact unity and integrity. It should not only be permanently community-conscious but also watchful and vigilant about any foreign infiltration. This characteristic of the Muslim community was annulled by the follies of Akbar. The ideological integrity was fissured by the introduction of Shi'ahs into the body-politic of Muslim community. Hindu and other

ideologies were given a free hand to influence Muslim culture as much and as deep as possible. These policies could only contribute to the break of Muslim community both from within and from without. And it was exactly what happened. The Muslims would have totally collapsed in India if Dārā Shikūh had won the war of succession against Aurangzeb. It was the fortune of the Muslim community of India and the influence of the Muḥaddidi movement that Aurangzeb came out victorious. He was able to politically enthrone the orthodoxy in the sub-continent. But it was the misfortune of the Muslim community that socially and intellectually Aurangzeb could not crown the orthodoxy with ascendancy. The heterodox forces within the Muslim camp were made by about a century of follies so powerful that their suppression by one Aurangzeb was impossible. They had gained such a powerful position that one could neither ignore them nor suppress and root out them.¹⁾

Apart from the process of disintegration from within, the Muslim culture also underwent a process of conflict with offensive Hindu revivalist movements. Towards the close of the Sultanate period, Muslim India saw a vigorous Hindu movement under Rānā Śaṅqā to dislodge the Muslims from political power in the sub-continent. This was shattered by Bābar. Again, Hemū raised a tempo which was again put down by the forceful Mughals. After the failure of Hindu revivalist movements on political level the menace came from cultural and intellectual side. Bhakti movement gained momentum during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. The efforts of Hindu religious leaders like Gurū Nānak and Chaitanya were now giving their results and making their impacts on the religious and intellectual life of India and the Muslim community as well. The Hindu religion was passing through an all-out

revivalist movement which sometimes took an offensive attitude towards the Muslim community. Moreover, the centuries of Muslim influences on the cultural and intellectual life of the Hindus had enabled the latter to realize themselves and to initiate their national renaissance.

The impact was not one-sided; it was mutual. The ideas of Hindu Bhaktas deeply influenced Muslim mysticism. And though the process was largely retarded by the Mughals, a section of Muslim sufis continued assimilations from Bhaktas. The Chishtiyyah order was the nearest to Bhakti ideas among the Muslim mystic orders. The spiritual outlook of the Chishtis, their ascetic exercises are based on pantheistic monism; and so also the Bhaktas. Both of them follow many a similar method of spiritual purification; Simā' is 2) popular among both.

Another factor contributed to the intellectual disintegration of the Muslim community was the schism between Shi'ah and Sunni sections of the community. The entire movement against the heresy of Akbar was initiated by the Sunnis. From the days of Akbar till the days of Aurangzeb the protagonists of orthodoxy had been overwhelmingly Sunnis. This naturally identified the orthodoxy with Sunnism in the eyes of many. During the early phase of the movement, the Shi'ah community kept totally aloof and did not join hands with the Sunnis. During the later reign of Jahāngir, a 3) section of the Shi'ahs ventured to oppose the movement. This created a gulf between the two communities and it continued to widen. The patriarchal personality of Aurangzeb did not allow the gulf to be visible on the surface; but soon after his death it came on the surface of events in a most dreadful manner. The subsequent Mughal history is but a tale of the bad blood between the Shi'ahs and the 4) Sunnis.

Awrangzeb's immediate successor, Shāh 'Alam Bahadur Shah publicly demonstrated his leanings towards Shi'ism. Whether he totally abjured Sunnism is debatable, but it is clear that he supported Shi'ism and worked for its popularization. He ordered the ulama in Lahore to use a certain Shi'ah formula for 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. The orders were hotly resented by the masses and the Emperor withdrew his orders on the request and persuasion of the Ulama. The Shi'ah ascendancy in the Mughal court did not prove itself to be a happy development. The influential Shi'ah nobles took to the enthronement of Shi'ism and they took certain stiff measures against the Sunni celebrities. This could have only add to the fire and embitter the situation more and more.

A Shi'ah, Najaf Khān, had acquired control over the city of Delhi as Wazir. He tyrannized the Sunni scholars and expelled some of them from Delhi. Mirzā Maẓhar Jān Jānān was a divine of the Mujaddi order and one of the foremost leaders of orthodox Islam. A contemporary of Shāh Waliy Allāh he was most popular among the Rohillas who were potentially a danger to the power of Najaf Khān. Mirzā Maẓhar suffered from the tyrannies and oppressions of Najaf Khān. His collection of letters contains many a detail of the atrocities that Najaf Khān had inflicted to the Sunnis in general and to the Mirzā in particular. At last he was assassinated by a stooge of Najaf Khān. Shāh Waliy Allāh's family also said to have incurred the wrath of Najaf Khān.

Hitherto Shi'ism had no territorial base in northern India. This was provided by the Nawab-Wazirs of Awadh. They were staunch protagonists of Shi'ism and the ring leaders of Irani party. Their rivalry with the Rohillas and other Sunni and Turani nobles put them in an extreme position. They evolved a curious admixture of

Shi'ism, syncretism and Hinduism. The wife of Shāzi al-Dīn Haider (d. 1827) is the most prominent Shi'ah leader who played an important part in making Lucknow a center of Awadhian Shi'ism.¹⁰⁾

The conflict of Shi'ism and Sunnism ~~was~~ coincided with an effort, not without success, to revive the Chishti order and to reinstate it to its previous position as it held during the days of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. This was initiated by Shāh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī (d. 1729). His chishtism seems to be of a refined nature and nearer to Naqshbandism. He tried to inculcate both the Sharī'ah and Iṭīqāh into his ideology. He established a seminary in Khānām Bāzār (Delhi) which was the center of his academic and spiritual activities. The branches of his fraternity were soon established in Deccan and Rohilkhand. But it became more popular in the Punjab. Most of the Chishti Khānqāhs of contemporary Punjab were established at his initiative. Mahār Sharīf, Tawnsah, Siāl, Jalālpūr, Golra, Kot Mithan, Chachrān, Multan and Ahmadpūr are still centers of note in Punjab where Khānqāhs of Chishti order trace their spiritual geneology to Shāh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī.¹¹⁾

Apart from the efforts of Shāh Kalīm Allāh, Delhi was the center of great spiritual activities. Perhaps the social and political anarchy in the Mughal empire had led the people to escape from practical life and to take refuge in mysticism. As early as during the fourth decade of eighteenth century there were about twenty two mystic orders working in Delhi alone. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz wonders on this phenomenon and says that mystic activity is seldom found in such an abundant proportion.¹²⁾

Mention
the role of

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz

FOOT NOTES

1. For fuller discussion, Qureshi, Muslim Community, p. 161-163.
 2. Tara Chand, History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 199.
 3. Eq. Nūr Jahān's opposition to Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq, *Supra*.
 4. For a fuller discussion, Qureshi, Muslim Community, pp. 162-163.
 5. Tabātabā'i, Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirin, Vol. II, p. 381
- Also
- چوں بہ تحقیق نور مذہب شیخ امامیہ راجی کی دانست ہیں ملک اختیار نمود
- Muhammad Miyan Dihlawi, 'Ulamā-i-Hind Kā Shāndār Mādī, Vol. II, Muradabad, n.d. pp. 81-82.
 6. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, Karachi, 1957, p. 85.
 7. Eq. Kalimāt-i-Jayyibāt, Delhi, 1309, p. 45.
 8. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, pp. 130-131.
 9. Dihlawi, Muhammad Miyan, 'Ulamā-i-Hind Kā Shāndār Mādī, Vol. II, Delhi, 1963, p.
 10. For some details, Abu'l Layth Siddiqi, Lakhnaw Kā Jihād-i-Shā'iri, p. 36.
 11. Nizāmi, Khalīq Ahmad, Tārīkh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht Delhi, 1953, pp. 231-232, 366-426 et seq for Khulafā'.
 12. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mal-fūzāt, (Urdu translation), Karachi, 1960, p. 198

D-. THE FAMILY BACKGROUND OF SHĀH WALIY ALLAH

from where?
when?

Shāh Waliy Allah came of a family which possessed high social status among the Muslim elite of Delhi. His ancestry produced a number of distinguished scholars, mystics, military commanders, court officers and judges. Shāh Waliy Allah traces his lineage from 'Umar ibn-al-Khattāb, the second Caliph of Islam. From among his ancestors, the first to emigrate to India was one Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Mufti. He was a good scholar who is said to have assembled in his person the qualities of his glorious and respectable ancestry. He belonged to a family which enjoyed good reputation for both its academic pursuits and spiritual knowledge as well as for its brilliant political and military career. Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Mufti's father and grand-father, Sher Malik and 'Aṭā Malik held the titles of Malik which seems to have been conferred upon them by some Muslim ruler. (2)

After migrating to India, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Mufti settled in Rohtak --- a town some thirty miles westwards from Delhi. As a scholar and mystic his special fields of study covered Tafsīr, Hadīth and Fiqh. He is also reported to have a good command over Arabic language and literature. Moreover, he was well acquainted with and well trained in mystic theory and practice. (3) This high academic and spiritual stature won him popular respect and veneration; people rushed towards him to solicit his Fatawā (verdicts and rulings on religious and legal matters) and to seek spiritual blessings from him. To play a more active role in the uplift of the academic, cultural and religious life of the people in an organized ways, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn established an academic institution at

Rohtak where students of Islamic sciences and seekers of spiritual knowledge rallied around him from adjacent areas. When his fame spread far and wide and the products of his institution proved the ability of their teacher in the fields of learning and administration, the central government appointed him the Qādi (Judge) of the city of Rohtak. The office of the Qādi remained (4) in the family for a considerably long time.

When 2 days
In those days Muslim administration in India was in its primary stages and it lacked people of learning and ability. Shah Waliy Allah says that it was for this reason that whenever some learned and able Muslim came from Western or north-Western Muslimdom, he was not only warmly welcomed by the local authorities but was also requested to participate in the socio-political life of Muslim India as Qādi, Muhtasib or Mufti of a city in an honorary capacity. The appointment of Shaykh Shams al-Din to the office of a Qādi was due to some reason. (5)

When 2 mks 2
Shaykh Shams al-Din al-Mufti remained in the office till his death. Alongwith his official responsibilities, he continued running his college, lecturing there on various Islamic sciences and initiating the people in the spiritual way. His position in mysticism can be assessed by the fact that soon after his death a number of miraculous stories were attributed to him. (6)

Mawlavi Nahim Bakhsh claims that both Shah Waliy Allah and his father Shah Abd al-Rahim confirmed the authenticity of such incidents with full confidence.

After the death of Shaykh Shams al-Din al-Mufti, his son Shaykh Kamal al-Din al-Mufti, grand-son Shaykh Quth al-Din al-Mufti and great grandson Shaykh Abd al-Malik al-Mufti succeeded him one after the other. All of them possessed, more or less, the

same high spiritual stature and also also enjoyed the same popular respect and veneration for their piety and scholarship. Of these, the last, Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik was specialized in the science of Hadīth which he had studied with special care. His specialization in Hadīth had made him an undefatigable propagator of puritanism. He used to give very effective lectures and forceful sermons for the condemnation of Bid'at or religious innovations and un-Islamic practices. In his lectures he profusely quoted from the Quran and used to recite the verses of the Holy Quran with a very melodious and thrilling voice which moved the listeners to tears and penetrated their souls. His lectures on the Quran were also popularly appreciated for their effectiveness and scholarly style. (8)

When?
During Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik's life time the government made the offices of Qadā' and Iftā' hereditary in his family. These offices remained in the family for about more than one century. Political upheavals and frequent military cataclysms did not affect the position and status of the family. (9) (10)

When?
Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik was succeeded by Qādi Buddha and Qādi Qāsim, his son and grandson respectively. Qādi Qāsim had a son known as Qādi Qādan. He seems to have assembled in his person all religious, political and judicial authorities of the town; hence his title Qādi Qādan which seems to be the corruption of Qādi-i-Qādiyān (judge of judges or officer of officers.) Qādi Qādan was the last link in the chain of Qadis. His son Shaykh Mahmūd gave up the ancestral and hereditary office of Qadā' and joined the military services; and in spite of facing difficulties and obstacles at the initial stage he ultimately succeeded in fully adjusting himself in the new procession by dint of his ambitious nature and courage. (12)

*is a
died 1647*

Shaykh Mahmūd married a lady Āfridah Khānam, of a noble family of Sādāt from Sonipat. This lady gave birth to his son and successor Shaykh Ahmad who left his home-town Rohtak and settled in the capital. Here he joined the spiritual and academic circle of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Shaykh 'Abd al-Hakim. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani was a deep scholar and a very pious man. He was respected for his piety and scholarship throughout the Subcontinent. He was a contemporary of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad Farūqī, the father of the Mujaddid. Once Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani also visited Sarhand and had long sessions with Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad. The two luminaries discussed important issues of Tasawwuf during these sessions. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani had also some relations with the Mughal emperor, Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar who publicly demonstrated his respect and veneration towards the Shaykh. (13)

*in which
large*

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani trained his young student, Ahmad, with great care. He initiated him in spiritual experience and instructed him in religious sciences. The teacher also gave his daughter in marriage to the young scholar. This Blessful union resulted in the birth of two sons. One of them, Shaykh Manqūr, was a very bold, courageous and forbearing man. He married the daughter of his maternal uncle Shaykh 'Abd Allah ibn Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani. This lady gave birth to two sons. One of these two sons, Shaykh Mu'azzam possessed good health and physique. It was perhaps his good health and robust physique which induced him to join the military service soon after completing his education at a tender age. Mawlāwī Rahīm Bakhsh has given many details of his military adventures but, most probably, not without exaggeration. (14)

Shaykh Mu'azzam married with the daughter of another saint of Sonipat, Sayyid 'Abd al-Jabbar, who was a good scholar and a

noted figure of his town. This lady gave birth to three sons; one of them Shaykh Wajih al-Din was the grand-father of Shah Waliy Allah.

Shah Waliy Allah's grand father, Shaykh Wajih al-Din possessed a high and honorable rank in the army of the Mughal emperor, Shah Jahān. During the reigns of both Shah Jahān and Awrangzeb, he displayed his sterling abilities in warfare and soldierly skills. Side by side with his bravery and military skill Shaykh Wajih al-Din also possessed a high stature in piety and spiritual sciences. For some times he remained a courtier of Awrangzeb's court. He also took an active part as a prominent officer of Awrangzeb's army in the battle of Khajwah. It is said that the war was on the edge of coming to an end ushering in the defeat of Awrangzeb. But it was Shaykh Wajih al-Din who turned the whole tide at the eleventh hour by his skill and strategic insight. Consequently Awrangzeb came out with great success and historic victory (17)

Shaykh Wajih al-Din led a very active and eventful life. He participated in Awrangzeb's campaigns against Shivaji in the Deccan. While coming back from the Deccan to Delhi a group of highway robbers attacked his caravan. Shaykh Wajih al-Din faced the robbers with courage and boldness but the bandits overcame his caravan and the Shaykh had to lay his life. (18)

Shaykh Wajih al-Din had two brilliant sons: Shah 'Abd al-Rahim, father of Shah Waliy Allah, and Shaykh Abu'l Ridā Muhammad. They gave up the military profession of their forefathers and kept aloof from Court life. Both of them adopted academic career and started a tradition of teaching and writing which lasted in the family for about three centuries. (19) Shaykh Abu'l Ridā Muhammad

was not only a noted scholar of his time but was also an accomplished sufi. He was initiated into sufi way at the hands of Khawājah Khurd (d. 1075 A.H.) the son of the celebrated sufi luminary of the Subcontinent Khawājah Bāqī Billāh. (20) Shaykh 'Abu'l Ridā lectured on various Islamic sciences; but his special field of interest was Hadīth and Tafsīr. He also gave public sermons on every Friday which were attended by people from all walks of life. This tradition was later on revived by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. Shaykh Abu'l Ridā Muḥammad had a reconciliatory approach towards some basic problems of Islamic Taṣawwuf and Kalām. In his (21) Anfās al-ʿArifīn, Shāh Walīy Allāh has mentioned some of his reconciliatory ideas which might have been the origin of the spirit of reconciliation strikingly evident in Shāh Walīy Allāh's thinking.

The younger brother of Shaykh Abu'l Ridā Muḥammad, Shāh 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the father of Shāh Walīy Allāh, was born around 1034 A.H./1644 A.D. He got his early education at hands of his elder brother. At a very early age while he was still a small child-student he got in contact with a Naqshbandī sufi from Central Asia. (22) He completed his education especially in philosophy and logic at the hands of the well-known philosopher and logician, Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid Hirawī. At the tender age of twelve, Shāh 'Abd al-Raḥīm completed his education. He started teaching and soon won a good fame and acclaim in the academic circles of Delhi. He also founded the famous Madrasah Raḥīmīyyah, named after its founder. The Madrasah played a unique role in spreading the knowledge of Quran and Hadīth during the life of its founder. Later on, this Madrasah became the center of that revivalist movement which forms the subject of this monograph.

Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm was associated with the historic task of the compilation of Fatawā 'Alamgiri. But this association was short-lived and he disassociated himself from the official patron and remained independent to look after his Madrasah. (2)

Following the footprints of his elder brother, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm also developed a reconciliatory approach and a liberal attitude towards theological differences. Being a Hanafi himself he sometimes preferred the Shāfi' point of view and he never saw any harm in it. ⁽²⁴⁾ But in spite of his liberal attitude he never tried to impose his point of view on others. He often said that one should not mention any thing contrary to the majority belief in a public meeting; however true it might be, ^{Because} people would refute that thing and unnecessarily an unpleasant atmosphere would be created. (25)

Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm practically passed a life of seclusion. But he enjoyed popular respect and prestige. He had a great influence equally among the elites and the masses of Delhi. At least on one occasion he exercised his influence and saved the Mughal emperor, Farrukh Siyar, from being a prey of the Sayyids of Barha. ⁽²⁶⁾ Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm died in 1131/1718.

6-. LIFE SKETCH OF SHĀH WALIY ALLAH

It was in this academic and spiritual atmosphere that Shāh Waliy Allah was born on 2 Shawwāl 1114 A.H./1703 four years before the passing away of the great Mughal monarch, Aurangzeb Alamgir. (27) His father, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm, took special care of his education; he saw in his son signs of greatness. In his Bawāriq al-Wilāyah which is a short biography of his father, Shāh Waliy Allah has given some of the visions alleged to have been seen by Shāh Waliy Allah's parents even before his birth. (28) At the age of four he was sent to school where he learnt the Holy Quran by heart within three years. At the age of seven he started reading Persian, which was the language of culture, education and administration in Muslim India at that time. Within one year he completed the necessary study of Persian language.

At the age of eight his formal education of Arabic language and Islamic sciences was started. For two years he concentrated on Arabic language and grammar. At the age of ten he was studying the celebrated and voluminous work of Arabic grammar, Sharh Mullā Jāmi. At the age of fourteen he formally graduated from Madrasah Rahīmiyyah and was awarded the Dastār-i-Fadīlat (Turban of Honour) with a permission to teach. On this occasion his father arranged an auspicious banquet in which a large number of the elites of Delhi was invited. In the presence of Ulema, judges, saints and the jurists he was awarded the Dastār. (29)

Shāh Waliy Allah had been a precocious boy loved by his father. It was his father's special care and attention which helped him in his extra-ordinarily rapid progress in

education and intellectual perfection. Referring to the special affection of his father Shāh Waliy Allah says, "My father loved me the most among all his children. Most of the times, in public and in private, he showed a special attention towards this humble man. Whenever he saw me he was very happy and spoke to me in a very pleasant and amiable tone. While I was still a small child he used to tell me that he had a brain-wave to instil in his son's heart whatever he had of knowledge and sciences. My father further said that some-times he had so much zeal and excitement to do so that it could be subdued with great difficulty." Shāh Waliy Allah further says that the academic accomplishments awarded to him were, in fact, the result of his father's special care and attention. (30)

On another place referring to the love and affection of his father towards him, Shāh Waliy Allah says, "The greatest of God's bounties and blessings over me and before which all other bounties are nothing is that my father was always happy and pleased with me. Since my childhood till the last span of his life his favors and benefactions continued towards me. I cannot fully explain even one of them. What can be more prideful for me than the fact that when he was breathing his last he embraced me and awarded me with a permission to initiate others in spiritual way. On this occasion he uttered several times the phrase 'his hand is like my hand'. The attention and care he used to give me during my boyhood and my student life is never given by any father to his son. I have yet to come across a father, a teacher or a spiritual guide who has so

meticulously and compassionately taken care of his son or disciple as my late father taken of mine.....? (31)

Side by side with the education Shāh Waliy Allah was initiated into mystic training by his father. He was fifteen years old when he made Bay'ah to his father and adopted especially the ways of the Naqshbandis. (32) He was also engaged for three years after his graduation from Madrasah Rāḥimiyyah in the specialized study of the Islamic sciences. He also revised the reading of whatever he had already studied with a deeper understanding and insight. (33) When his father died in 1131 A.H./1718 Shāh Waliy Allah was nearly sixteen years old. He succeeded his father to the rectorship of Madrasah Rāḥimiyyah and was soon recognized as one of the best teachers of Islamic sciences.

After the death of his father Shāh Waliy Allah strictly confined himself to academic pursuits. Apart from teaching and writing he replied to various queries and questions. He also spent sometime in contemplation and the rest in reading and study. He had an extraordinarily good and retentive memory and reading a book only once was sufficient for him to preserve its contents in his memory. (34)

Shāh Waliy Allah spent twelve years in reading, writing and teaching. But he thought that without achieving perfection in the science of Hadīth full command over Islamic sciences was impossible to acquire. But his wishes could not be materialized without proceeding to Arabia. Moreover the so-journ in the vicinity of the House of God had been a popular and pleasant practice among the leaders of Muslim revivalism during past

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three centuries. It gave them a new psychological reinforcement and provided a fresh spiritual zeal to accomplish the task. Towards the end of 1143 A.H/1731 A.D. Shāh Waliy Allah left Delhi for Arabia.

At that time Hijaz was full of renowned scholars and accomplished sufis. A movement had already started in Arabian sufism to reconcile the different sufi orders and to combine them in one. It was a happy co-incidence that Shāh Waliy Allah's father also had a purely academic approach to controversial problems; he always sought to minimize problems of dispute and to reconcile the conflicting views. He had trained his illustrious son in the same tradition and had initiated him in different sufi orders prevalent in the Sub-continent at that time. Shāh Waliy Allah's association with the sufis in Arabia and specially with the great sufi-scholar Shaykh Abū Tāhir al-Kurdi greatly helped the process of unity and reconciliation in Shāh Waliy Allah to reach its climax. Shaykh Abū Tāhir initiated his disciple into various new orders and awarded him the Khirqah (sufi robe or gown) which was, to quote Shāh Waliy Allah himself, such a comprehensive Khirqah which embraced all the other Khirqahs of the sufis. (35) We should here briefly mention the teachers of Shāh Waliy Allah in Arabia.

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The foremost among Shāh Waliy Allah's teachers in Arabia who left the deepest impact upon his disciple-student was Shaykh Abū Tāhir Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khurdi. He was one of the most celebrated scholars of his time. He got his education at the hands of his father Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi (d. 1101).

Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Maghribī and Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Maghribī. He was mainly influenced by his father, Shaykh Ibrāhīm whose intellectual genealogy is traced back to Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī. Thus he was very close to Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm in his thinking and approach. It may be noted that Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm also belongs to the tradition of Dawwānī through his elder brother Shaykh Abū'l Ridā and his teacher Mir Zāhid Hirawī. In religious matters, Shaykh Ibrāhīm's approach is puritan and he was a great admirer of Ibn Taymiyyah. (37) Shaykh Abū Tāhir had widely benefited from other scholars of the Muslim world. He had a deep knowledge of Hadīth and Fiqh and was an accomplished sufi. He was a great admirer of Shaykh Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabi and Shaykh Abū Madyan Shādhilī. (38) Shāh Waliy Allah attended his lectures on Hadīth and was greatly benefited from his thorough knowledge. He was so much impressed by his teacher that while coming back to India he went to the teacher with eyes full of tears and said;

نسيت كل طريق كنت أعرفه
إلا طريقاً يؤديني إلى ربكم.

(I forgot all the avenues I knew save the avenue which leads to your house.) Shaykh Abū Tāhir died in Ramadān 1143 A.H. (39)

The second important teacher to whom Shāh Waliy Allah was indebted was the Hanafi jurist and Muḥaddith Shaykh Taj al-Dīn al-Qala'ī. Shāh Waliy Allah attended his lectures on the Sahīh of Imām Bukhārī, other five collections of Hadīth, Muwatta' of Mālik and Muḥammad ibn Hasan al-Shaybānī and Musand al-Dārimī. (40)

He granted a special certificate to Shāh Waliy Allah which he did not give to other students. He was one of the most notable (41) Hanafi scholars of the Hijaz at that time. He was a student and successor of Shaykh Ahmad al-Qaṭṭān, the well-known Mālikī Muḥaddith of Arabia.

His third and the last teacher was Shaykh Muḥammad Wafī Allah al-Maghribī. He was also a well-known scholar of Hadīth, Tafsīr and Fiqh as well as an accomplished sufi. In sufism he belonged to the Shādhilī order of Shaykh Abū Madyan al-Maghribī. His hobby was the editing and correction of the classical works on Hadīth. He granted Shāh Waliy Allah permission (Ijāzah) to teach the Muwattā of Imām Mālik. (42)

Shāh Waliy Allah stayed in Arabia for about one and a half year. Some of his friends in Mecca are reported to have advised him to permanently settle down in Hijaz and to devote himself to academic pursuits. (43) But, fortunately enough ^{for} the Muslims of the Subcontinent, Shāh Waliy Allah declined to accept this advice. He felt divinely called upon to take up the heavy and epoch-making task of initiating an Islamic revivalist movement in the Subcontinent. He returned to his home country and reached Delhi on Friday, 14 Rajab 1143 / January 1733. (44)

The visit to the holy shrines of Islam was, no doubt, the most important event in Shāh Waliy Allah's life. It left a tremendous impact upon his thinking. It was after this journey that his academic, intellectual, social and political notions crystallized into a clear ideology and took the shape of a definite programme. It resulted in the revolutionary transformation of Shāh Waliy Allah's thinking, his intellectual

attitude, his religious and spiritual experiences. It opened before him new avenues for an intellectual and spiritual renaissance of his people. It seems that Shāh Waliy Allah was himself also aware of this great internal change. Even his close associates seem to have noticed the inner change in the master. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz heard about these internal developments of his father from his close associates. A glimpse of this spiritual revolution and internal changes taking place in the depth of his heart and soul can be seen in his

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Fuyūḍ al-Haramayn. It is a kind of spiritual autobiography which relates to a certain period of his life and has been written in the peculiar mystic language of anecdotes and visions. A comparative study of Fyūḍ al-Haramayn and Ghazālī's Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl will provide a fascinating reading. Shāh Waliy Allah came out of the depths of his spiritual experience with an all-out movement and with a sacred mission; while Ghazālī contented himself only on his own personal satisfaction. Shāh Waliy Allah's outlook in this regard tend to be prophetic while Ghazālī's out-look tend to be mystic and saintly. (48)

After coming back to India Shāh Waliy Allah set himself to the great mission. He reorganized Madrasah Rahīmiyyah and assigned the teaching work to other professors. He himself took up the task of writing and training a small and selected group of students. He was very considerate in his timings. He used to sit for writing at sun-rise and did not even change his knee or posture till midday. (49) It was after his visit to Arabia that Shāh Waliy Allah completed his translation of the Holy

Quran in 1151 A.H./1738 A.D. He had started this translation before his visit to Arabia, but it was still incomplete. It was with long intervals that Shāh Waliy Allah could complete it. This translation was popularized by his student and disciple Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn in 1156. (50) Perhaps by popularization Shāh Waliy Allah means its inclusion in the curriculum and its teaching to students might have been assigned to Khwājah Amīn. (51)

It is often alleged that Shāh Waliy Allah is the first in Muslim history to translate the Holy Quran in any language. It seems that those who have made this ridiculous claim have not read even the first page of the Introduction to Fath al-Rahmān (title of the translation). He himself writes in the Introduction, "Before I embark upon making my own translation of the Holy Quran I made a survey of the (existing) translations so that if one of those (existing) translations would seem to me better, I would try to popularize it and to make it acceptable to my contemporaries. But since no such translation was available I saw no other alternative and I had to make my own translation." (52)

For thirty years after his visit to Arabia, Shāh Waliy Allah engaged in teaching and writing. Although his life seems to be very uneventful he remained closely in touch with the developments taking place around him. He was always in contact with the leaders of Muslim thought and politics. His relations with Mirzā Maḥzar Jān-i-Jānān, one of the most important leaders of Muslim orthodoxy, (53) always remained friendly and cordial. (54) It seems that Mirzā Maḥzar used to lend books of Shāh Waliy Allah to people of his acquaintance for reading. (55) Shāh Waliy Allah's relations with

Summarized
The Facts -
Captions!

other leaders and luminaries of political importance will be discussed at length in a separate chapter.(56)

Shāh Waliy Allah had a very sensitive soul. He had a minute observation and used to watch the developments very critically and minutely and sharply reacted to them. This sensitivity and sharpness created a poetic turn in him. Although he is not generally known as a poet but his poetic genius can be seen in whatever has come down to us of his poetry.(57)

NOTES AND REFERENCE

- (1) The genealogical line between Shāh Waliy Allah and Sayyidnā 'Umar has been quoted in Al-Rahīm, Hyderabad, May 1967, pp.829-830 cf. Shāh Waliy Allah, Al-Imdād fi 'Ilm al-Ajdād. In the ensuing pages of Al-Rahīm, op. cit, Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādiri has made a good discussion on Shāh Waliy Allah's geneology and raised several interesting questions.
- (2) Rahīm Bakhsh, Hayāt-i-Waliy, Lahore, 1955, p.6.
'Abd al-Shāhid Khān in his Introduction to the Urdu edition of Faḍl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī, Al-Iḥawrah al-Hindiyyah (Urdu translation entitled Bāghī Hindustān), Lahore, 1974, pp. 66-67, 117, has pointed out common geneology of Shāh Waliy Allah and Mawlānā Faḍl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī. According to him Sher Malik had two sons: Bahā' al-Dīn, the ancestor of Faḍl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī, and Shams al-Dīn, the ancestor of Shāh Waliy Allah.
- (3) Rahīm Bakhsh, op. cit, pp. 11-12.
- (4) Ibid. p. 20
- (5) Ibid. pp. 19-20
- (6) Ibid. pp. 12-14
- (7) Ibid.
- (8) Ibid. pp. 17-20
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) Shaykh Maḥmūd was the first who gave up the office and adopted military profession.
- (11) Rahīm Bakhsh (op. cit. p. 26) thinks that it is a corruption of 'Abd al-Qādir or Qiwām al-Dīn.

- (12) Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. pp. 27-29
- (13) Ibid. pp. 29-30, 31-41.
- (14) Hāshim Kashmi Zubdat al-Maqqamat, (urdu translation), Lahore, nd. p. 118; also Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. pp. 36-41, also Anfās al-ʿArifīn, (Urdu Translation) Lahore, 1394, pp. 335-336.
- (15) For fuller details about the life and work of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghani, ʿAbd al-Haqq, Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir, vol. iv, p. 132; Raḥmān ʿAlī, Tadhkirah-i-ʿUlamāʾ-i-Hind, (Urdu translation), Karachi, 1961, p. 231.
- (16) Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. pp. 46-55.
- (17) Shāh Waliy Allāh, Anfās al-ʿArifīn, op. cit. p. 342
- (18) Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. pp. 108-112
- (19) Shaykh Abu'l Ridā Muḥammad seems to have born in late 1040 i.e. A.H. His younger brother, Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was born 1054 (Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. p. 203). The last noted scholar of the family was Mawlānā Syayid Zahr al-Dīn Aḥmad Waliyullāhī who died sometimes before 1919/1337 A.H.
- (20) Shāh Waliy Allāh, Anfās al-ʿArifīn, (Urdu translation), Lahore, 1394 A.H. p. 193.
- (21) E.g. Ibid. pp. 202, 211, 215, 216-217, 232-233.
- (22) Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. pp. 207-208.
- (23) Ibid. pp. 277-279.
- (24) Shāh Waliy Allāh, Anfās al-ʿArifīn, Maṭabaʿi-Muṣṭabāʾi, p. 70.
- (25) Quoted by Nasīm Aḥmad Farīdī Amrohawī in Al-Raḥīm Hyderabad, February 1967, p. 597.
- (26) See infra

- (27) Shāh Waliy Allāh, Al-Juz' al-Latīf fi Tarīqat al
'Abd al-Da'īf included in Anfās al-Ārifīn, p. 403
- (28) It forms part of Shāh Waliy Allāh's Anfās al-Ārifīn, p. 146.
Some of these visions were also given by Shaykh Muḥammad
'Ashiq in his Al-Qawl al-Jalīy (MS); cf Al-Juz' al-Latīf,
op. cit. p. 404.
- (29) Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit., p. 408; the information given by
Raḥīm Bakhsh in this regard is mainly based on Shāh Waliy
Allāh's own autobiography, Al-Juz' al-Latīf.
- (30) Quoted in Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit, p. 484.
- (31) Al-Juz' al-Latīf, op. cit. pp. 405-406
- (32) Ibid. p. 404
- (33) Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. pp. 412-413
- (34) Ibid. pp. 387-388.
- (35) Cf. Qureshi, I.H. Ulema in Politics, Karachi, 1974,
p. 108; Shāh Waliy Allāh, Al-Qawl al-Jalīl fi Bayān
Sawā' al-Sabīl, Lahore, 1930, pp. 111-120, has given a
full description of the Sufi orders into which he was
initiated by his father. *It should have been mentioned here*
- (36) Shāh Waliy Allāh, Anfās al-Ārifīn, op. cit. p. 406
- (37) Mahmūd al-Ālūsī al-Baghdādī, Jalāl al-Aynayn, p. 26
quoted in Al-Furqān, Shāh Waliy Allāh Number, Bareilly,
1941, p. 370.

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- (38) For a short biographical note, Spencer Trimingham, The
Sufi Orders in Islam, Oxford 1971. pp. 46-48.
- (39) Raḥīm Bakhsh, op. cit. pp. 427-434.
- (40) Ibid. pp. 434-435.

- (41) Ibid. f.n.
- (42) Ibid. p. 424-427, also f.n.
- (43) A History of the Freedom Movement, Karachi, 1957, vol. I p. 494.
- (44) Al-Juz' al-Latif, op. cit. p. 406
- (45) Rahim Bakhsh, op. cit. p. 479.
- (46) Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, Malfūzāt (Urdu translation), Karachi, 1960, pp. 158-159.
- (47) Fuyūd al-Haramayn, (Urdu translation, Multan, n.d.)
- (48) Cf. Muhammad Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore, 1962, p. 124: Muhammad of Arabia ascended the highest Heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point, I should never have returned. These are the words of a great Muslim saint, Abdul Quddus of Gangoh. In the whole range of Sufi literature it will be probably difficult to find words which, in a single sentence, disclose such an acute perception of the psychological difference between the prophetic and the mystic types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of unitary experience and even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. For the mystic the repose of 'unitary experience is something final; for the prophet it is the awakening, with-in him, of world-shaking psychological

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forces, calculated to completely transform the human world. The desire to see his religious ~~ex~~ experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the Prophet."

(49) Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, Malfuzat, op. cit. p. 95.

(50) Shāh Waliy Allah, Fath al-Rahmān fi Tarīqat al-Quran,
Hashimi Press, Meerut, 1285 A.H. p. 1

(51) Cf. for example Mirāj Muḥammad 'Aṭīq, Short Biographical
Notes on Shāh Waliy Allah, Hujjat Allah al-Bālighah,
Urdu translation, Karachi, n.d. vol. I p. 1

(52) Fath al-Rahmān, op. cit. p. 1

(53) Mirzā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān (1111/1700)-1195/1780) was a
celebrated Shaykh of the Mujaddidi order. Like Shāh Waliy
Allah he had close and constant liaison with the orthodox
Camp of Rahīlkhand where he enjoyed great influence and
prestige. He widely travelled in Rahīlkhand area to mobilize
Muslim public opinion against the Jats and the Marathas. For
short biographical notes, Rahmān 'Alī, Tadhkirah 'Ulamā-i-Hind,
(Urdu translation) Karachi, 1961, pp. 495-497; Ghulām Sarwar
Lahorī, Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā', Compur, n.d. vol. I pp. 684-687;
'Abd al-Hayy, Nuzhat al-Khawātir, vol. vi, pp. 50-54.

(54) Kalīmāt-i-Iyyibāt, Maṭbā' Muṣṭabā'i, Delhi, n.d., p. 43

(55) Ibid. p. 66

(56) See infra, The Political Role of Shāh Waliy Allah

(57) For some of his poems, Rahīm Baksh, op. cit. pp.
506-511; also Shāh Waliy Allah, Aṭyah al-Niḡham

(being the Arabic Qaṣīdah in the praise of the Holy
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PART TWO

(SHAH VALIY ALIYAH AS A POLITICAL FIGURE)

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF
SHAH WALIY ALLAH

Shah Waliy Allah was not an idealist thinker who would shut his eyes from contemporary world. On the other hand he was practical thinker and closely watched the events taking place in the world around him. Since his early career he remained in touch with the problems facing Muslim India and was familiar with personalities of note in the political life of the Mughal Empire. His Father, Shah 'Abd al-Rahim enjoyed respect among the elite of his contemporary Mughal India. He had close relations with Nizam al-Mulk Asif Jah, one of the foremost Muslim nobles; ¹⁾ he could also exert his influence ²⁾ in retaining the throne for Farrukh Siyar. Such a practical-minded and influential father must have left his impact in shaping the political outlook of his illustrious son.

Shah Waliy Allah got an opportunity of seeing the plight of Muslim community at the hands of the Jats and the Marathas during his early age while he was passing through Rajpūtānā. In 1143 A.H./1730-31 A.D. when he was going for Hajj he traversed the area of Rajpūtānā which was the center ³⁾ of the activities of Jats and the Marathas. He stayed more than one year in Arabia and met people from other parts of the Muslim world and discussed the problems of the Muslim world with them. This had naturally contributed to the formation of an international or a pan-Islamic outlook in him. He himself said on one occasion: 'the conditions of India are not unknown to me for it is my birth-place and my dwellings;

I have also seen the Arab world and the conditions of the people of Turkey and Central Asia have been reported to me by reliable persons from there: 4) After coming back to India he pondered over the problems facing the Muslim community with a new and broader outlook and a fresh zeal and enthusiasm. In those days people were so much depressed and frustrated that some people decided to free themselves from the worries of life by committing a collective suicide. It was Shāh Waliy Allah who prevented them from this cowardice by reminding them the calamities faced by Imām Husayn. 5)

Shāh Waliy Allah's Comments on Contemporary Politics. Shāh Waliy Allah did not take any practical interest in politics. His main field of activity was academic and educational. His interest and participation in politics was that of a spiritual patriarch. He thought he was not suitable for shouldering the responsibilities of a large-scale political movement for the revival of Islam because neither the time was ripe for such a movement nor he had the necessary paraphernalia at his command. He devoted himself to the intellectual and educational revival which brings in its wake political resurgence. Discussing the question of the possibility of initiating an armed struggle for the political resurgence of Muslim India he says in a highly mystical language that if situation demanded that the reform could not be brought about without armed struggle he would have successfully led such a movement. 6) This assessment of Shāh Waliy Allah might be true because in those days some influential member of Muslim aristocracy was needed to initiate the movement. Earlier, the

Mujaddid had also adopted the same policy. He did not claim political leadership for himself but remained content with spiritual and academic leadership; exercising his position as such he helped in furthering some sincere and sensitive members of the nobility to the political leadership of the revivalist movement. The same situation prevailed during Shāh Waliy Allah's life-time. If he claimed political leadership for himself the whole scheme might be exposed to failure. It is very improbable whether Shāh Waliy Allah could have the sufficient number of workers in case he had tried to lead a political or military movement.

Insert

Shāh Waliy Allah carefully watched the development of political situation around him; his assessment of his contemporary politics reveals his deep insight in practical matters. Here we reproduce two of his letters in which he critically and analytically commented on the political situation of Muslim India. The first letter is said to be addressed to Ahmad Shāh Abdālī.⁷⁾ "Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe. And complete peace and Perfect Blessings be Upon His Messenger, the Intercessor for the evil-doers on the Day of Resurrection, and on all his followers and companions. And now: These few words are being presented to you with the sole motive of the sake of Islamic dignity. May Allah bring these words to Your Majesty. The presence of the Islamic rulers is a great Bounty and Blessing of Allah the Almighty!

"It is to be known that India is a vast country which had been conquered to Islam by olden Muslim monarchs after long struggle and in many stages. Apart from Delhi, which had

been the capital of reigning monarchs there were different rulers for different parts of India. For example Gujrat and Ahmadābād belonged to one ruler; Thatta was under another; Bengal was ruled by a separate ruler; Awadh was under another king called Sultān al-Sharq. Deccan comprised five principalities: 1. Burhānpūr, 2. Barar, 3. Awrangabad, 4. Hyderabad and 5. Bijāpūr. Each of these five principalities had a separate king."

"Malwah was also under a separate king. All the rulers of these areas had independent armies and independent exchequers. They build mosques in their territories and established schools and colleges. Muslims from Arabia Iran and Central Asia migrated from their homelands to these kingdoms and worked for the propagation of Islam in this part of the world. The progenies of these immigrants are still strict on the practice and conduct of Islam."

"There is also another territory which has never been conquered by any Muslim ruler and it is still on its un-Islamic pattern. However, the Muslim rulers received tributes from those (Hindu rajas) who were in the vicinity of their frontiers. This territory is Rājputānā which is stretched from Thatta upto the borders of Bihar and Bengal which is about forty manzils in length and from Delhi and Agra to Gujrat and Ujjain which is about twenty manzils in breadth. This is all that vast territory which has never been realm (*دولت*) of Muslim monarches. Briefly speaking, the Mughal emperors reached agreements with the Rājputas and saved themselves from their incursions by declaring them their (the Mughals') subjects. Thus, the Mughal rulers took off their hands from the Jihād. The historians (of the court) would present

the other details (before Your Majesty)?

"Among the non-Muslims (of the Sub-continent) there is a nation called Maratha who have a chief. Since sometimes these people have made certain risings in the innermost area of the Deccan and their activities have taken the entire India into their influence. Later Mughals assigned the province of Gujrat to the Marathas due to their short-sightedness, imprudence, negligence and mutual difference of opinion and thinking. Then with the same short-sightedness and negligence they also gave the province of Malwah to them and assigned its governorship to them. Thus, by and by, the Marathas became very powerful and acquired away over the major part of the world of Islam (In India). These people now appropriated tributes both from Hindus and Muslims; they call it Chawth i.e. one-fourth of the total income?

"They could not acquire any control over the city of Delhi and its suburbs because the princes and nobles of this area are the descendents of olden monarchs and nobles; and that Marathas chose to reach agreements with them by showing regards to them. They insured a policy of tolerance for both the parties by using different kinds of flatteries and sycophancies and now the people of Delhi are at peace with them. The Marathas could not also conquer the Deccan because the descendents of Nizām al-Mulk adopted great tricks for keeping the Marathas away; sometimes they caused a civil war among the Marathas themselves and sometimes they succeeded in having the English in league with them. Thus, they controlled big cities like Burhānpūr, Awrangabad and Bijāpūr and had to leave other adjacent areas to the Marathas.

There is a letter dated 3/1/48
by the Marathas to the English dated 19/4/48

In short the Marathas have a complete ascendancy over India except these two places."

"To defeat and exterminate the Marathas is very easy provided the Chāzis of Islam resolve to undertake this responsibility and break at least two or three of their lines. The Marathas are in fact small in number but a large number of followers and supporters has joined hands with them. If only one line of these associates is broken their whole power will be considerably reduced and the Marathas themselves will not be able to bear this ^{even} nominal defeat. Since they are not powerful and militant people their entire tactic is merely to amass large numbers of mercenaries as the aunte and locust swarm; they neither have much war equipment nor they are brave. In short, the Maratha insurrection is the worst of its kind in India. May God favour upon one who puts a end to this insurrection?

*I guess
he means
aunte*

"Among the infidels there is another community called the Jats who dwell the area between Delhi and Akbarābād. These two cities, it is to be remembered, have been like ~~few~~ two mansions for the Emperors. The Hūmūrid rulers sometimes stayed at Akbarābād so that their awe may extend to Rājputānā and some other times they chose to remain in Delhi to oversee the area of Saxhand and its vicinity. The peasants between Delhi and Akbarābād have been the Jats?

"During the reign of Shāh Jahān, these people were commanded not to ride horses, not to have guns and to build castles for themselves. Later Mughal Kings gradually neglected them and provided them a golden opportunity of building their castles. They also acquired guns and started highway robbery.

In those days Aurangzeb was busy in Bijāpūr and Hyderabad; he sent an expedition headed by his grandson to put the Jats right. The Chiefs of Rājputānā went into quarrel with the Prince and a dissension arose among the army. Satisfied with a minor submission of them (of the Jats) the Imperial forces returned back. Again, during the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, their commotion and turbulence appeared again with fervour. The Mughal Prime Minister, Quṭb al-Mulk sent big forces against them; their leader, Chūrāman had no other alternative but to conclude a peace-treaty after long wars. Chūrāman was brought to the Imperial audience and was granted pardon under the pressure (of some Muslim nobles). This was again, in fact, against the interests of Islam.

Again, during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the strong-headedness and rebellion of these people exceeded all limits. Sūraj Mal, the nephew of Chūrāman, became their leader and adopted the pathway of mischief and disorder. Consequently they accepted the city of Biyāna by force and expelled the Mussulmans of that city with much disgrace. It was an old Islamic city which has been the center of activity of Muslim scholars and sages for seven hundred years. Their rebellious attitude, they continued to grow every day; and no Muslim leader took action in this regard only due to the mutual differences and negligence of Muslim rulers and chiefs. If, suppose, any Muslim chief decided to take some action against them, the men of Sūraj Mal resorted to other Muslim nobles and, thus, got the will of the Emperor reversed. During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh's son the Irani noble, Šafdar Jang, revolted and plundered all the inhabitants of the old city

of Delhi by attacking the city in conspiracy and collaboration with Sūraj Mal. Muhammad Shāh's son closed and fortified the portals of the city and started cannonading. By the Grace of Allah, Safder Jang and Sūraj Mal retreated after a few months' war without any success. They initiated a truce which was readily accepted by the Emperor because he and his men were exhausted from long hostilities. This truce resulted in the increase of Sūraj Mal's glory and prestige and he was soon able to capture the area extending from a few files in the vicinity of Dihli upto Akbarābād in length and from the borders of Mewāt to Ferozabad and Shikḥābād in breadth No one could have the courage even to maintain Adhān and prayers there?

"About one year ago, Sūraj Mal captured the fort of Alwar from where supervision was made on the whole of Mewāt. No one from amongst the members of the Government had the courage to offer any resistance?

"The revenues of the whole India are not less than seventy or eighty million rupees, provided the government enjoys full authority and exercises its full control; otherwise even a penny cannot be collected. As you are noting, the area under the Jat control can give a revenue of ten million rupees. The area of Rājputānā, due to its vastness, can give twenty million rupees provided suitable tribute is levied upon every Raja. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh an annual tax of ten million rupees was collected from Bengal; and the provincial government paid it regularly. In spite of this annual payment, the governor of Bengal had been the richest noble of India. That is why today in spite of the mismanagement and maladministration in Bengal where an idiot

and in the rich young man, the grandson of the former governor, has set over; he possesses a big exchequer. Sa'adat Khān, an Iranian noble and his successor and son-in-law Šafdar Jang, ruled over the province of Awadh. They collected twenty million rupees from this province; ten million were spent and the remaining ten million were saved. This wealth incited Šafdar Jang to revolt against the Emperor.

"It will not be very difficult to over-throw the power and prestige of the Jats. The areas appropriated by them are not theirs; they have been usurped from others and the legal owners of these areas are still present and alive. If some just and powerful king puts his hand of mercy on their (the legal owners') head they will rise against Sūraj Mal and will fight against his men. This is the position of the infidels of India.

"The position of the Muslims is this; more than one hundred thousand people were in the Imperial service; they included infantry-men, riders, people of wealth and the Jāgīrdārs. The negligence of the Kings was conducive to a further deterioration of the situation: the Jāgīrdārs neither have any control over any-one nor have any say in the affairs of the Jāgīrs. No one even bothers to think that the real cause is inertia. The dilapidation of the royal treasury resulted in the cessation of all revenues. Consequently, all (the civil servants) were dispersed and adopted beggary for their livelihood. Only the name of the Empire survived. The deterioration of the conditions of Imperial servants is indicative of the worse conditions of all other peoples who lived on state salaries or stipends, on trade or arts

and crafts. Their conditions may be assessed in view of the farmers as to what degree of deterioration they might have reached and from what kinds of oppression and ^economic difficulties they might be suffering?

"Apart from all these sufferings and difficulties, when the followers of Sūraj Mal and Safdar Jang attacked the old city of Delhi, all the people were reduced to homeless, miserable and resourceless condition. Moreover, the continuous famine over-came them from the heavens. In short, the Muslim community (of the sub-continent) is in a much pitiable condition. Whatever control and authority which is exercised by the Imperial government is totally in the hands of the Hindus; all the clerks, secretaries and other members of the civil services are Hindus. Every wealth and money is for them while all bankruptcy and difficulty is but for the Muslims. The account is becoming lengthy and is going out of the limits of brevity?

"What I mean to bring to your notice is that the ascendancy of the infidels in India and the weakness of the Muslims is as I have explained. Today there exists no Muslim ruler more powerful and strong, more capable of defeating the army of the infidels, more far-sighted, war-versed and experienced than Your Majesty. It is, therefore, a religious duty of Your Majesty to proceed to India to exterminate the ascendancy of the Marathes and to relieve the feeble Muslims from the clutches of the infidels. In case, God forbid, the ascendancy of Kufr remains thus, Muslim will forget Islam and in no time they will become a people knowing neither Islam nor Kufr. This is a great calamity; and by the

Grace of God no one except Your Majesty has the power to reverse it?

We, the humble servants of God, seek the intercession of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, Peace be upon him, and in the name of Allah ask Your Majesty's valour and gallantry to turn your attention to wage the jihād against the infidels of this area; so that the beautiful Award is written in Your Majesty's Record before Almighty Allah and Your exalted name is included among those who do jihād (efforts) in the way of Allah. And in this world countless booties will come in the hands of the Ghāzis of Islam and the Muslims will be delivered from the clutches of the infidels?

"I seek the refuge of God from the repetition of what happened under Nādir Shāh who shook the Muslims and overturned them while making the Marathas and the Jats safer and more prosperous he left India. It was after this that the government of the infidels acquired power and prestige while the Islamic forces were left disorganized and dispersed. The government of Delhi became like the game of children. May God forbid us. If we take the infidels for granted (as such) and the Muslims remain weak even the name of Islam will be no more heard in India Describing the virtues of the Mujāhidīn, God says in the Quran: "Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah; and those who are with him are strong against unbelievers (but) compassionate amongst each other. You will see them bow and prostrate themselves in prayer... and describing the virtues of those who do the jihād against the apostates, God says: "O ye who believe! If any from amongst you turn back from his faith soon Allah will produce a people whom

He will love any they will love Him -- lowly with the believers, mighty against the rejecters; they fight in the way of Allah and are never afraid of the reproaches of anyone? It is known from here that the Victory of Islam is the part of such a Muslim group which loves the Muslims wherever they are like their sons and brothers and are always like a male tiger in front of the foreign infidels?

"It is incumbent that during these struggles your sincere and deep-hearted intention should be to strengthen Islam. When your subduing forces reach a place where Muslims and non-Muslims are mixed, special administrators should be appointed. They should be given clear-cut instructions that the communities of weak Muslims in various villages should be brought to town and cities. Some other administrators should also be appointed in the towns and the cities to look that no property of the Muslims be looted and the honour and dignity of any Muslim not be molested. A Hadith goes: "the Fall of the entire world is lesser to God than the murder of a Muslim?"

"When the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) moved towards Hudeybiyyah with an intention of performing 'Umrah (lesser pilgrimage) the infidels of Mecca prevented him from entering the sacred city. Eventually a peace treaty was concluded with the infidels. Some of the Companions of the Holy Prophet were not content with the treaty due to their excessive Islamic Hamiyyah. But the Holy Prophet did not pay any heed to their opinion and concluded the treaty. When the Muslims returned from this journey and were on route (to Madinah) Sūrah al-Fath was revealed unto the Prophet. It was then that God disclosed the philosophy and

wisdom of peace-treaty and delay of victory; "Had there not been believing men and believing women whom you did not know that ye were troubling down and on whose account a crime would have accrued to you without your knowledge. (Allah would have allowed you to force your way, but He held back your hands) that He may admit to His mercy whom He will. If they had been apart, we should certainly have punished the unbelievers among them with a grievous punishment."

"It means when the Muslims were in trouble and pain the Divine Wisdom required that this object be achieved after some respite so that the infidels may accept Islam willingly or unwillingly and the Muslims (of Mecca) may be safe from (the repercussions of) the ascendancy of the Mujāhidūn. Two years after the conquest of Mecca took place. Holy Prophet marched towards Mecca alongwith twelve thousand men and the Meccans embraced Islam willingly or unwillingly; they gave their hands of allegiance to Holy Prophet."

This incident provides a good wisdom for far-sighted, intelligent and astute rulers; that in a place where Muslims and non-Muslims are mixed a policy of tolerance should be adopted. First, the ill-nature infidels who have acquired an ascendancy over the Muslims should be dispersed; then the Muslims will automatically give their hands of allegiance in the hand of the just and far-sighted Monarch."

وَكَمْ لَكُمْ مِنَ لُطْفِ رَبِّي

يَذِيقُكُمْ ذِقَاءَ فَهْمِ الذِّكْرِ

"A patient does not like a bitter medicine however useful it may be; so the intelligent physician mixes some honey in it. In the same way when the just rulers move for waging the jihād against the enemies of God to a place where the Muslims are dispersed and disorganized fearing for their life and dignity and disliking the tumult and disturbance by their nature, they (the rulers in such a place) protect the poor, the devout, the Sādāt and the 'Ulamā' of that place with the royal favour and largesse and with kinds of solace and consolation so that the reputation of their favours may reach the near and far cities and the people may pray Allah for the victory and success of the just Monarch and supplicate Him for retaining that Mercy on their city."

"Priorities in importance should be determined. Wherever the defeat of the Muslims is feared operations should be stopped. Jihād should be preferred only against and around the infidels so that the object is achieved without the possibility of the killing of a Muslim. Before I conclude, the counsels of the Holy Prophet to Muslim rulers and the advices of his orthodox Caliphs for maintaining the (Islamic) conduct of rulership are given here (8). These few points have been written in haste. If they could attract Your Majesty's attention, other things will reach you in fuller details. Praise be to God in beginning and in the end and both in the visible and the invisible."

A critical and thorough study of this letter reveals the political far-sightedness, deep understanding and scholarly and rational thinking of the writer. While going through the letter one feels as if one is reading the report of a commission of experts

why?
assigned to survey the political and economic situation of the sub-continent and to produce a compact report on the maladies and their remedies. After reading this letter one, especially a foriegner, can easily discern the actual state of affairs and diagnose the real disease.

After tracing very briefly the history of Muslim rule in the sub-continent he analyses the centrifugal forces, that were mainly among the non-Muslims, at work for the disruption of not only the Muslim empire but also of cultural and economic peace and tranquillity. First, he deals with the Marathas and traces the history and factors of their rising. Then he suggests the way of dealing with this disruptionist and anarchist force. After discussing the Maratha menace he deals with Jats in fuller details and points out those Muslim potentates who not only connived the Jat depredations but also tried to exploit their power to grind their own axe, and, thus, contributing to the Jats' ascendancy. Then he discusses the economic position of Muslim India and points out the factors that led to the economic degeneration of the empire and the financial bankruptcy of Muslim administration at the center.

From these facts Shah Waliy Allah concludes that a powerful and sincere Muslim monarch is needed to suppress these centrifugal and disruptionist forces and to put the Muslim administration in a right motion. Such a powerful monarch who would practically fulfil the aspirations of the saint-scholar could be none except Ahmad Shah (9) Abdali to whom the memorandum is said to have been addressed.

The second letter in which Shāh Waliy Allah commented with details on the contemporary political and economic situation of Muslim India is a memorandum addressed to the Emperor, the Prime Minister and the lords of the Mughal Empire. Although this letter seems to be chronologically earlier than the preceding one and the editor of the letters has also given priority to it here we are discussing it after the previous one because the previous one provides a good background knowledge to understand the present one. In this letter Shāh Waliy Allah puts forth certain proposals for the betterment of the situation. The full translation of the text is reproduced here:

"Praise be to Allah alone; and the Peace and the Blessing be on he after whom no Prophet has to come and on all his followers and companions. And now:

"These are a few words which are being written under an impulse of well-wishing and good advice for the Emperor of Islam, may God bestow upon him His support and guide him to do what He likes and approves and for the Muslim lords and the Muslim masses, may God do good to all of them. The messenger of God has said الدين الضيق the Din is but well-wishing. I hope, by the Grace of Allah, if these words are put into practice the affairs of the government will run smoothly state will be strengthened and the increase in the prestige will take place:

در پس آئینه طوطی صفت داشت اند

آنچه استاد ازل گفت همان گویم

"They have put me across the mirror like a parrot.

"I say nothing but what the Eternal Teacher has taught me."

Religion
govt
advice

This is a footnote
(It was a custom to put a parrot in front of the mirror.

The owner or the "teacher" would sit behind the mirror and talk to the parrot. The parrot would try to imitate considering that his own reflection in the mirror was talking to him. In this verse the poet says whatever God has taught me I am uttering like a parrot)

"Article one: The foremost foundation on which depends the good of the state and the prosperity of the Millah is this; it should be the policy, for the pleasure of God and his Prophet, that whenever victory is achieved and the enemy is humiliated the first step to be taken necessarily should be the jihād against the territories of the Jats and the conquest of their castles. This will entail good results both in this world and in the Hereafter. And among the most necessary steps is the punishment of all cursed people so that no landlord may dare even to think of such mischief and naughtiness after that.

Article two: The Khālīṣah land should be expanded, and in particular from the area around Shāhjahānābād upto Akbarābād, from Hīsār to the banks of the Ganges upto the borders of Sarhand. All or majority of this area should form the Khālīṣah. The real cause of the weakness of state-administration, it should be remembered, lies in the shortage of Khālīṣah and the deficiency in the public exchequer.

Article three: The award of jāgīrs should be strictly reserved for senior lords; junior manṣabdārs should be paid in cash as was the policy during the days of Shāh Jahān. Because junior manṣabdārs are usually unable to exercise full control over their jāgīrs and need to give it on contract. Moreover, they are general

poor and ignorant (of the affairs of their jāgīrs) and do not devote themselves to the state business.

Article Four: Those who have collaborated with the enemy during those disturbances should immediately be dismissed and deprived of their jāgīrs; it would serve as a punishment for them and be deterrent for others so that they may not deviate from the path of faithfulness.

Article Five: The Imperial armies should be reorganized in a suitable manner. This reorganization may be on these lines:

1. Small officers (Dāroghās) should be appointed from those who possess following characteristics:

- A. They should be noble of birth.
- B. They should be brave and at the same time kind and beneficent for their colleagues.
- C. They should be faithful and sincere to the monarch from the core of their heart.

2. Those who have been unfaithful, disloyal and treacherous during those disturbances should be replaced in chivalries by others who have been hesitant during these days.

3. Their dues should be regularly paid to them without hinderance; because in cases of hinderance they are compelled to take loans on interest and, thus, most of their money is lost without even their knowledge.

Article Six: The practice of giving the Khālīqah lands on contract should be stopped. Instead, fair, honest and experienced persons should be appointed every where. By giving the land on contract the administration fails and the masses suffer from pillage and devastation.

Article Seven: Qādis and Muhtasibs should be appointed from among those who have not been accused of taking bribes and who are pious and belong to Ahl al-Sunnah w'al-Jamā'ah.

(10)

Article Eight.....

Article Nines: The Imāms of the mosques should be regular and handsomely paid: the attendance in the congregation prayers (Namāz bā Jamā'at) should be emphasized and the molestation of the dignity of Ramaḍān should be strictly banned.

Article Tens: The King of Islam and the great nobles should not indulge in unlawful luxury. They should truly and sincerely repent of whatever has passed and to avoid in future.

At present if these ten articles are implemented I hope the Empire will last and the divine support will come.

وما توفيقى إلا بالله عليه توكلت وإليه أنيب

And my success (in my task) can only come
from Allah: In Him I trust and unto Him
I look (in distress)

him

Shāh Waliy Allah's Relations with Contemporary Politicians. Shāh

Waliy Allah was not a practical politician; he always tried to concentrate on his real and greater assignments: the reconstruction of Islamic sciences and the purging of Islamic literature from un-Islamic elements. For the implementation of his political ideas he adopted the line of his great forerunners in Islamic Revivalism, Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi. He kept himself away from day-to-day politics and carved out an influential group of his enthusiastic adherents in the higher and lower circles of state functionaries who worked for the implementation of his reforms. Shāh Waliy Allah also formed his own group among the noble and influential social and political figures who spared him for purely academic and spiritual work. He also inherited from his father the friendship of some of the most powerful and respected members of Mughal nobility. For example the friendship with Asāf Jāh was cultivated by his father, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm. With others he himself managed to make acquaintance. Here we shall discuss relations of Shāh Waliy Allah with some of his leading and influential contemporaries. He encouraged all those who showed any ability and service in the tussle between the centrifugal and centripetal forces; he blessed them with his prayers.

The senior-most noble who came into direct ^{contact} with Shāh Waliy Allah was Asāf Jāh I. He was one of the most towering personalities in the later days of the Muslim rule. He made signal contribution to the safeguard of Muslim prestige in the sub-continent and his services are remarkable. First he tried his level best to restore the power and prestige of the days of Alamgir on orthodox Sunni lines but very unfortunately his efforts could not be full

successful. Being a Turānī he was the leader of the orthodoxy in the Court but he had to face and wrestle with a united front of the Irani Party which also attracted some opportunist Sunni leaders. The Irani nobles went in their enmity and hatred towards Āṣāf Jāh to the extent that they ridiculed his heard. They passed obscene remarks against him; whenever the old statesman entered Court, they would mock him by whispering to each other that he was an old monkey. Once Āṣāf Jāh is reported to have said to his opponents, "whatever you can ridicule me do it; but I am seeing the day when Red Fort will be lying in ruins and will be the (11) roost of the monkeys."

Āṣāf Jāh's forefathers had been the upholders of orthodox and Muslim prestige in the sub-continent since the latter days of Shāh Jahān. His grandfather Khwājah 'Abid was a distinguished Soldier and Soldier and had fought successfully with Aurangzeb in the (12) battles of Khajwa and Samūgarh. Āṣāf Jāh was born in 1671 and joined the service of Aurangzeb in his early age. We have already noticed Aurangzeb's veneration for Shāh Waliy Allah's father, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm. It was perhaps through Aurangzeb that Āṣāf Jāh was introduced to the saint-scholar-educationist. Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm maintained his friendship with the statesman and advised him on all important matters when he felt necessary. Some of his letters have been published and some others are yet to be edited and published. Sayyid Sulaymān Nadāwī had been a collection of his unpublished letters in Āṣāfiyyah Library, Hyderabad Deccan. One of these letters which is said to have been addressed to Nizām al-Mulk (13) Āṣāf Jāh has been referred to by Sayyid Sulaymān Nadāwī and quoted (14) by Muḥammad Ikram. An abridged English rendering of the letter (15)

Asaf

given below:

"To the Prime Minister of the Dominions

The Āsāf Jāh for the prompting of Jihād"

"It has come to my intuition that the Heavens has determined to humiliate the infidels and then to exterminate the rebels. If Your Highness resolve to rise against these people the world (i.e. entire India) will be overrun by you; it will result in the revival of the Millat and the solid establishment of Your Highness's government. The rebels have to be defeated and in the absence of any effort from your side no credit will be gained by you. This is certain and you should exploit the opportunity and should not show any indifference in launching a jihād against the enemies of Allah. The position will soon become clear and that is why I have abstained from going into the details "

Shāh Waliy Allah successfully maintained his relations with the Nizām and approached him whenever the occasion arose to advise him on important matters. Waliy Allah's letters to the statesman and the impact of his advises on the latter's policies clearly show the extent of the success of Shāh Waliy Allah's policies to follow the example of Pujaddid Alf-i-Ihānī in keep contacts with influential and sincere nobles and to use these contacts for the advancement of Islamic cause. We have already seen the memorandum sent by Shāh Waliy Allah to the Emperor and the nobles. It seems that Nizām al-Mulk Āsāf Jāh was among those who not only took it seriously but also tried to implement certain measures suggested by the great divine.

In article three of this memorandum Shāh Waliy Allah advises that the award of jāgīrs should be strictly reserved for senior lords and that the junior manṣabdārs should be paid in cash following the practice of Shāh Jahān. Because, according to Shāh Waliy Allah, junior manṣabdārs were usually unable to exercise full control over their jāgīrs and were forced to give it on contract. Shāh Jahān realised the wisdom of this advice; he wished 'to reduce the extent of assigned lands (jāgīrs) and to give these which were difficult of management to the more powerful nobles and those yielding income easily to the smaller men' (16)

Other letters of Shāh Waliy Allah, addressed to Nizām al-Dulk reveal some dimensions of the mutual relations of the celebrities. We quote the text of ^{one of} these letters here:

"God, the Almighty, may grant you infinite progress, favour you with bounties of both the worlds and save you from the miseries of both. Bābā Faḍl Allah enquired from me about some matters. I thought I should better reply in writing. All the hardships that are raising their heads are according to me, due to the voluntary or involuntary negligence and inaction (on the part of the Muslims) in respect of the Maratha war. Had this task been done at the time when I had warned, astonishing favour of God would have come like terrestrial rains; because it is said:

ان لكم في أيام دهركم (أيها) ألا فتعرضوا لها

'Your Lord has certain (special) odours (of bounty and blessings) during certain days so you should look forward to the

Although predestination includes all events yet everything in the domain of God is connected with a good. But let bye-gone be bye-gone?

(17)

"As regards the problem of Butā Khān Afghan I hope that the Grace of Allah it will disappear soon. It appears that this man will not succeed in his plans and his evil designs will not be achieved. And what further appears to me is that you will remain successful, victorious, safe and enjoying?

"It would be better if the Emperor remains here and does not go out. However, you may take with yourself whom you wish from amongst the princes. Precisely speaking, God the Almighty has granted you (almost) an absolute power in India. He, the humble fakirs, have developed a good hope that through you will take place, in the best possible way, the extermination of injustice, the abolition of evil practices, the implementation of the Dīn, the establishment of divine commandments, ... the spreading of knowledge, prayers and fasting. Because in you I could discern a curious kind of excellence and blessing and it seemed that yours is a disposition having temptations towards reformation, intelligence and other virtuous things. It is perhaps due to the historical factors that none of these virtuous things could yet come into practice. Heavens may recompense the past. It is, however requested that the dearness of certain should be checked as far as possible. The loot and plunder which is going on around the country should also be immediately put to an end.

There are three letters in the collection of Shāh Wali Allah's political letters which are said to be addressed to Nizām al-Mulk by Shāh Wali Allah. But Hasanā Suhmān Nadwī ascribes

at least one of them to Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm. But the language and style of addressing suggest that the letters were addressed by an elder to a younger. Nizām al-Mulk was thirty-three years older than Shāh Walīy Allāh and it seems quite improbable that a man of Shāh Walīy Allāh's dignity and deep sense of respect and protocol should have addressed to a great statesman such as Nizām al-Mulk in an unbecoming style and form of address. On the other hand, when we see his letters to Najīb al-Dawlah, who was certainly younger than him and during his life-time and specially during period in which the letters were written he was far much junior to Nizām al-Mulk and enjoyed lesser degree of influence and prestige, we see that Shāh Walīy Allāh uses great honorific titles and epithets for Najīb al-Dawlah. The titles for Najīb al-Dawlah are very pompous. On the other hand the letters addressed to Nizām al-Mulk contain the formula والله اعلم (18) which is generally used to address the younger. And again, most of the letters quoted with complete texts begin with the names of the addressee and the addressor. Shāh Walīy Allāh usually starts after addressing the person concerned with the phrase من عبد الله i.e. from the humble Walīy Allāh, may he be forgiven. But the letters under discussion (Nos. xx and xxi) have neither the name of the addressee nor the addressor. This ~~therefore~~ suggested that these two letters (or at least the first one No. xx) were, in fact, written by Shāh Walīy Allāh's father as was claimed by Sulaymān Nadawī. It seems that these two letters were wrongly attributed to Shāh Walīy Allāh by some copyist.

The second important leader of Muslim India with Shāh Walīy Allāh had closest relations was the Rohilla chief, Najīb

al-Dawlah. He was at a time the most important and influential statesman of Mughal India and played a tremendous role in the affairs of Muslim empire for more than a decade. Before his relations with Shāh Jally Allah and his role in Muslim political life and his efforts for the restitution of Muslim prestige are discussed in fuller details, his brief biographical sketch will not be inappropriate here.

Najīb al-Dawlah was born in 1707 in a village near
(19) Peshawar. It seems that his family did not enjoy any enviable social status and was economically poor because neither his relatives could arrange for his education nor he could get any
(20) livelihood in his native town. In search of some occupation he chose, like many other people of remote parts of the empire, to go to the Dōḡh in Northern India and to settle there. He was a very intelligent, energetic and talented youngman who was endowed with extraordinary physical and mental abilities.

In 1743 he ultimately settled in Anola and joined the service of Nawab 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, one of the Rohilla chiefs of Northern India. He showed his ability, efficiency and intelligence so much that he soon won the confidence of influential Rohilla chiefs and managed to persuade one of them, Dūnda Khān, to give his daughter in marriage to young Najīb. In the meanwhile he was promoted to the command of several hundred men. When 'Alī Muḥammad Khān was appointed governor of Sarhand, Najīb accompanied him and was closely associated with him. His work in Sarhand gave him deep insight in political matters and a vast experience of administration. When 'Alī Muḥammad's tenure of office in Sarhand was terminated, Najīb came back to Rohilkhand where Dūnda Khān,

his father-in-law, assigned to him the administration of Chāndp
(21)
Nagīnah, Bijnor and other adjacent areas.

Najīb Khān got the confidence and patronage of Hāfiz
Rahmat Khān during the joint invasion of the Marathas and Safdar
Jang against the Rohillas in 1751. Najīb Khān not only valiantly
fought against the invaders but also demonstrated his ability and
efficiency of command and war administration. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān,
(22)
therefore, appointed him Jumla Dār on one thousand riders. From
now onwards Najīb acquired the prestige of an independent and
venerable chief who could determine his course of action by
(23)
himself. In 1753 a serious disention broke out in Delhi between
the Emperor and Safdar Jang and this resulted in a civil war in
the capital. Both the parties invited the Rohillas for their help
(24)
But Hāfiz Rahmat Khān and Dūnda Khān decided to remain neutral.
Najīb would have followed the course of his seniors but in the
meanwhile he was moved by a thrilling speech made by a 'Ālim,
Muwlanā Nadhr Muhammad, made in favour of the Emperor. He decided
to join the Emperor's side and to support him against his rivals.
He took his one thousand men and left for Delhi. On his way to the
Capital he toured the area, appealing the Rohillas to join him to
support the (sunni) Emperor against (the Shi'ah) Safdar Jang.
He gathered around him as a force of ten thousand Rohilla soldiers
(25)
and reached Delhi.

At that time 'Imād al-Mulk had got the position of
'king-maker'. He welcomed Najīb in Delhi and presented him to the
Emperor. The Emperor was already very much impressed by Najīb and
conferred upon him the title of Najīb al-Dawlah and a mansab of

Panjhazāri. After acquiring the title and the mongab Najīb al-Dawlah fought against the invaders more vehemently and vigorously. His participation in this campaign not only enabled the Emperor to push off the invasion but also provided an opportunity to Najīb Dawlah to increase his influence directly in the Imperial Court. He remained four months in the capital and came back to his place with an abundant wealth of power, prestige and popular esteem. He successfully advanced his influence and prestige till he became the foremost noble of Mughal India. During the decade 1761-1770 he was practically the sole runner of affairs in Delhi.

Although Najīb al-Dawlah could not get any proper and systematic education, yet he acquired a deep vision in political affairs through experience and his inherent understanding. Jadu Nath Sarkar commenting on his inherent qualities says: "In fact, in combination of first-rate military and administrative capacity, diplomatic skill and tact in dealing with others, and above all in his instinctive perception of the realities of the politics of his days and concentration on the essentials he had no equal in that day except Ahmad Shāh Abdālī." (26)

Shāh Waliy Allah had close relations with Najīb al-Dawlah. It is not known when and how the two celebrities came into contact with each other but it is clear that both of them trusted each other very much. A close survey of the relevant evidence shows that Shāh Waliy Allah's relations with Najīb al-Dawlah find their close parallel in the Mujaddid's relations with Nawab Shaykh Fath Murtadā Khān. Both the Mujaddid and the Shāh guided their respective friends in the task of preserving the integrity and solidarity of

Islamic state and society: both Shaykh Farid and Najib al-Dawlah struggled against the cultural and political penetration of the Hindus. Both the Mujaddid and the Shāh worked against the infiltration of un-Islamic practices and religious innovation with the help of Shaykh Farid and Najib al-Dawlah respectively. Both of the latter came to the expectations of their masters; and finally, both of them were among the most important and most influential political personalities of their respective ages. A brief survey of the relation between Najib al-Dawlah and Shāh Waliy Allah is given here.

It is evident from the letters of Shāh Waliy Allah that ~~since~~ he was in constant and close contact with Najib al-Dawlah. Some of his letters reveal that he had deputed one of his most trusted disciples to stay in the camp of Najib al-Dawlah. This disciple was Shāh Abū Sa'īd, the maternal grand-father of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd. ⁽²⁷⁾ Shāh Waliy Allah used to enquire from him about the developments in the court of Najib al-Dawlah. The disciple also in-formed the master regularly about latest occurrences. In one of his letters to Shāh Abū Sa'īd, Shāh Waliy Allah says:

و از سر انجام کار که به دست آن درگاه توفیق شد نیز بفرماید

'And you should also write in details about the accomplishment ⁽²⁸⁾ the task for which you are staying in the camp. These letters further reveal that Shāh Waliy Allah had rather personal and ⁽²⁹⁾ family relations with Najib al-Dawlah. The latter also respected the disciples and the students of the former. It seems that Shāh Waliy Allah's students also sometimes met Najib al-Dawlah for

(30)

their personal business. It also appears from a letter of Shāh Waliy Allah to Najib al-Dawlah that the latter consulted the former even in the matter of recruiting his personal staff. In this letter Shāh Waliy Allah writes about one, Hāfiz Jawāhir Khān that he is a very good-mannered person and is known to him (Shāh Waliy Allah) since the days of his education. Then Shāh Waliy Allah appreciates the care taken by Najib al-Dawlah in retaining Hāfiz Jawāhir Khān into his service. (31)

Najib al-Dawlah had also established some Madrasahs which are said to have been on the pattern of Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah. (32) One such Madrasah was established in Dārānagar in the Rohilkhand area. (33)

After the death of Shāh Waliy Allah in 1761 when his son Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, succeeded him to the rectorship of Al-Rahimi Academy, he also maintained relations with Najib al-Dawlah. (34) We know from his table-talks that he behaved with Najib al-Dawlah as a youngster should behave with his elders. When Najib al-Dawlah fell ill, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz hastened to see him. (35)

Apart from the family members of Shāh Waliy Allah, Najib al-Dawlah had relations with other Ulama of India. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz himself reports that the court of Najib al-Dawlah patronized as many as one hundred scholars who worked in Najibābād on state expenses. The maximum stipend was five hundred rupees and the minimum was five rupees. Moreover, the court comprised four jurists, one from every school of Sunni jurisprudence who worked as Qādis. (36) Najib al-Dawlah's veneration and respect for the Ulama was not a later development. During the early career of his political life in 1753 he was impressed by the speech of a

'Ālim, Maulawi Nadhr Muhammad, who persuaded him to support the
(37) Emperor. The Ulama also in turn appreciated his efforts for the
cause of Islam. What Shāh Waliy Allāh thought about him will be
discussed later. We came across a 'Ālim of Rohilkhand, Hājī
Muhammad Mahdī, who is reported to have composed some several
(38) Qasidas in praise of Najib al-Dawlah.

An independent and comprehensive survey of Najib al-Dawlah's
life and work, an assessment of the gigantic role played by him in
the stabilization of Muslim power and prestige in the sub-continent
is still awaiting scholars' attention. Resources are not too
meager on the life and times of this Rohilla statesman. Several
accounts of his wars were written even during his own life-time.
Sayyid Mūr al-Hasan Khān Fakhri who was once a follower of
'Imādul-Mulk (the grandson of Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh I) wrote an
account of Najib's campaigns only one year before Najib's death.
Although the book has not been so far published in original
(39) Persian and is lying in the form of manuscript in British Museum,
a wonderful English translation of the complete work was done by
J.N. Sarkar in early 30s; the translation was published in Islamic
Culture, Hyderabad ^a (40) Dakhn.

Another book which contains some good and useful information
about Najib is Iwarikh-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khānī. This book which has
recently been published in Urdu translation deals with the history
(41) of the Rohillas and their activities in the political life of
Mughal India. Its translator, Rawshan Khān, has given a long
introduction to the book which mainly discusses the role of the
Rohillas, not without exaggeration at places, in the preservation
of power and prestige in the sub-continent of eighteenth century
Muslim

Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khān, the founder of Rohilkhand principality (d. 1748-9) was a very pious and religious-minded man. Courageous and ambitious, he ruled his state brilliantly and tried to consolidate the orthodox power of the Rohillas which, if lasted and duly consolidated, would have been the event-guard of an unimaginable Muslim orthodox revival. Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khān was a patron of scholars and promoter of scholarship. 'Ali Muhammad Khān was succeeded by his son Sa'ad Allah Khān. He had also inherited the Rohilla zeal to consolidate the position of orthodoxy. He had a good confidence in Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad Khān, a close and trusted friend of Shāh Waliy Allah. Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad was a Sayyid who traced his genealogy to Sayyid 'Ali (42) Tirmidhi, the ancestor of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī. Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad played ^a great diplomatic role on several occasions to maintain the unity of Muslim orthodox camp. (43-A)

'Ali Muhammad Khān died in 1748; his position and prestige was inherited by Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān, who is said to have been close to Shāh Waliy Allah. He was an able and brilliant man. The born rival of the Rohillas, Safdar Jang, paying tribute to Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān's ability, says: "In the entire Afghan race I have never come across a man other than him (Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān) with such an ability and understanding. (44)

Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān trusted very much on Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad. On several occasions he assigned to the Mawlānā some important responsibilities. After the death of Najib al-Dawlah his son Dabīṭah Khān showed a tendency towards the Maratha leaders. Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān sent a deputation to persuade the Rohilla leader to (45)

dissuade from the Marathas. Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad was also a
(47)
member of this deputation.

Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's descendents also maintained relation
with the descendents of Shāh Waliy Allāh. A grandson of the
Hāfiz, Nawab Sa'adat Yār Khān paid great allegiance to Shāh
'Abd al-'Azīz and visited him at least once ~~in~~ a year. He also
named his son after the name of his spiritual leader and guide
'Abd al-'Azīz. Nawab 'Abd al-'Azīz was a student of Mufti Ināyat
(48)
Ahmad Kākorwi, a noted Mujāhid-scholar of Rshīmiyyah tradition.

Shāh Waliy Allāh always encouraged every-one who showed
any ability and interest in resisting the centrifugal forces; he
prayed God for his guidance and success and favoured him with his
advices. When Pā'indah Khān, Rehills chief, played an eminent
role in the victory of Muslim army in eastern India, Shāh Waliy
Allāh wrote him a letter in which he expressed his pleasure and
satisfaction over the victory and congratulating Pā'indah Khān
(49)
prayed for his further success. He wrote a letter to military
commander of Shāheranpūr, Khān Zamān Khān, in which highly honor-
titles were used for Zamān Khān. In this letter Shāh Waliy Allāh
expressed his hope for the success of Zamān Khān and prayed God
to award him victory; he also told the addressee that other seni-
members of the family had also written letters to Zamān Khān for
(50)
his encouragement.

Among the Emperors, Shāh Waliy Allāh had good relations
with Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748) and Ahmad Shāh (1748-1754). The
former is said to have donated a spacious building to house the
(51)
Madrasah Rshīmiyyah needed by Shāh Waliy Allāh. Emperor Ahmad

seems to have been under a deeper influence of Shāh Waliy Allah. It seems that he often paid visits to him in the Madrasah. The details of one such visit have been recorded by Shāh Waliy Allah himself. In a letter addressed to his cousin and pupil Shaykh Muhammad 'Ashiq, he says: "Yesterday, I dispersed the meeting held after Jum'ah-prayers before the usual time; I had to bid farewell to you so that the crowd might not disturb you. Then came the Emperor and his mother. First, arrangement was made in the mosque to receive the lady. By paying a visit in this way, the Emperor wanted to spend sometime with intimacy and frankness (without formalities and protocols). He remained here for a few hours and had lunch with me. The conversation mainly concerned with his request for (my) cooperation in social welfare....." (52)

To what extent Shāh Waliy Allah could influence the mind and politics of Ahmad Shāh is not clear; much more evidence is required to determine the issue while this evidence is wanting. Bashir Ahmad Dār, however, expressed the opinion that the deterioration in the relations between Ahmad Shāh and Safdar Jang was effected by Shāh Waliy Allah who hated Safdar Jang for his antipathy to the Afghans so much patronized and appreciated by Shāh Waliy Allah. Shāh Waliy Allah pinned his hopes on the Afghan hierarchy; while Safdar Jang, the leader of the Shī'ah heterodoxy as opposed to Sunni orthodoxy represented by the Rohilla Afghans, had closer and friendlier relations with Hindu disruptionist forces of Jats and the Marathas. In these circumstances it does not seem improbable if Shāh Waliy Allah had advised Ahmad Shāh to keep Safdar Jang at arms' length and to be aware of his moves and intrigues. (53)

It is strange that among his celebrated contemporaries Shāh Waliy Allāh did not hold any high opinion about Sirāj al-Dawla, the ruler of Bengal who fell martyr in his battle with the East India Company in 1757. He was an enthusiastic young man who had gained ascendancy in Bengal after the death of his maternal grandfather 'Ali Wardi Khān. In his letter to Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, Shāh Waliy Allāh comments on the situation in Bengal. While he commends the situation of the province during the governorship of 'Ali Wardi Khān he seems to be bitterly critical of his grandson's administration and personal capabilities. He writes, "During the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748) Bengal contributed ten million rupees as annual revenue. The governor of Bengal regularly paid the amount yearly; and inspite of paying such a big amount the Governor of Bengal was among the richest nobles of India. Even now, when Bengal is suffering from maladministration and a stupid and inexperienced lad, i.e. the grandson of the former Governor has gained power, he commands large and vast treasuries."

(54)

... whether it is an authentic copy of the manuscript of the letter has himself deemed it fit to be omitted cannot be determined unless we possess the original manuscript which is unfortunately not available to us.

11. Quoted in Al-Nahīn, July 1966, p. 148 - 149.
12. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I pp. 234-235.
13. Cf. his introduction to Abu'l Hasan Ali Nadawi, Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol. I, Karachi, 1975, p. 24
14. Ibid.
15. Ikrām, Rūd-i-Kawthar, Lahore, 1970, pp. 545-546. This letter has been attributed to Shāh Waliy Allāh in Nizāmi, Siyāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 80-81; see also A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 517 f.n.
16. Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. II, p. 132 quoted in A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 525.
17. Quṭb al-Dīn Khān was the maternal grandson of Nawab Rāḥmat Allāh Khān, the governor of Aurādābād. He was in the good books of Saifdar Jang, the leader of the Iranian party and a born enemy of Nizām al-Mulk. When Saifdar Jang gained ascendancy in the Capital he tried to use Quṭb al-Dīn Khān to curb the prestige and power of the noble Chief Hāfiz Raḥmat Khān. Quṭb al-Dīn Khān got as appointment at Rohilkhan through Saifdar Jang. He was resisted by Hāfiz Raḥmat Khān and was defeated and killed in a skirmish. Cf. Life of Hafiz al-Mulk, p. 28; Cambridge History of India Vol. IV, p.429; Fall of the Mughal Empire, I p. 377, Khalīq Nizāmi, Siyāsi Maktūbāt, Edition I, pp. 177-178.

18. Shāh Waliy Allāh, op. cit. p. 1.
19. Naṣīr al-Dīn, Maḥī al-Jawāriḥ, op. cit. p. 1, quoted by Nizāmi, Shāhī Maktūbāt, p. 199.
20. Naṣīr al-Dīn, op. cit. p. 5 B.
21. Nizāmi, op. cit. pp. 199-200.
22. Ibid.
23. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I. p. 111.
24. Ibid.
25. Nizāmi, op. cit. p. 200.
26. J.N. Sarkar in Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, p. 613.
27. Naṣīm Aḥmad Amrohī, Article in Al-Rahīm, May, 1965, p. 70.
28. Quoted in Al-Rahīm, May, 1965, p. 70.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid. pp. 65-66, 69-70.
31. Shāh Waliy Allāh, Shāhī Maktūbāt, 2nd Edition, Delhi, 1969, p. 26.
32. 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhi, op. cit. p.
33. Ayyūb Qādiri, Introduction to Nawāb Khān Bahādur Khān, p. 3.
34. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, Malfūzāt-i-'Azīzi, (Ur. tr.) p. 156.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid. p. 156.
37. Nizāmi, Maktūbāt, p. 200.
38. Inshā-i-Mahdī, quoted in Nizāmi, p. 202.
39. British Museum Catalogue, No. MS. Additional 24410.
40. Islamic Culture, No.3,4, Vol. VII, No.2, Vol.VIII.
41. Published in Peshawar 1976.
42. Sayyid Altāf 'Alī Bareilwi, Nawab Khān Bahādur Khān Shāhid, Introduction by Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādiri, p. 1.

Shah Waliyullah, Shah Waliyullah: A Study of His Life and Times,
 Allahabad, Critical Review.

- 43-A. Waliy Allah Farrukhābādī, Waqf-i-Banqash, (old translation by)
 Hakim Sharif al-Zamān, Karachi, 1965, pp. 111-112.
44. Payām Shāh Jahānpūri, Tārīkh-i-hazarivvāh-i-Pākistān,
 Lahore, 1970, p. 105.
45. Quoted in Sayyid Altāf 'Alī Barelawī, Hayāt-i-Hāfiz
Rahmat Khān, Karachi, 1963, pp. 105-106.
46. Altāf 'Alī Barelawī, Hayāt-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khān pp. 202-203.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid. p. 381.
49. Muḥammad Ikram Rūd-i-Kawthar, Lahore, 1970, pp. 546-547.
50. Ibid.
51. Bashīr al-Dīn Ahmad, Maqālat-i-Dār al-Hukūmat Dillī, Delhi,
 1919, Vol II p. 586
52. Nizāmi, pp. 68-69; the letter contains other details of the
 conversation which included Emperor's questions on matters
 of spiritual interest. The contents of the letter suggest
 that Ahmad Shāh frequently met Shāh Waliy Allah and discussed
 with him problems of mutual interest and sought his guidance
 and advice wherever felt necessary.
53. S.A. Dar, Shāh Waliy Allah: His Life and Times,
Iqbal Review, 1965, f.n. III.
54. Siyāsī Maktūbāt, p. 50.

THE MARATHA INVASION OF DELHI IN THE
MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY

We have already discussed at length the socio-political situation of Muslim India as obtaining during the earlier decades of eighteenth century. We have already quoted the full texts of Shāh Waliy Allah's letters to Abdālī and the Indian elites. These letters fully elaborate the role played and the position acquired by the Marathas in Indian politics. It was a nihilist force and meant at the destruction of all social, political norms and moral values established by centuries old Muslim rule, culture and civilization. It was since early eighteenth century that the Marathas started intrusions in Delhi. In 1132 A.H./1719 A.D. when Shāh Waliy Allah was merely seventeen years of age Husayn 'Ali Khā the King-maker and a Sayyid of Bārhan, brought the Marathas in Delhi. A Maratha force of eleven thousand men led by the Peshwā Bālājī Wāshwānath attacked the capital and although they were defeated this time and were severely beaten away, not only Delhi was exposed to their menace but also the prestige of Muslim power in India was heavily damaged. Several times Muhammad Shāh Rangilā had to buy 'peace and armistice' by paying millions rupees to the ¹⁾ Marathas.

By 1154 A.H./1741 A.D. when Shāh Waliy Allah was forty-eight years old the Maratha menace had gained the most dangerous momentum so much so that the Peshwā Bājī Rāo and the courage to reach Delhi and plunder its suburbs. In August 1757 they had collaborated with the Jats and attacked Delhi; the then Amīr al-Umarā', Najib al-Dawlah had to make peace with them almost on their conditions. In April 1758 they captured Lahore.

in 1701. In August 1700 the Marathas were able to capture even the Red Fort of Delhi; the time had almost come for the Marathas to establish the Hindu Rāj Paganāni in the sub-continent and place Bāsawā Rāo on the Mughal Throne. But their efforts were soon frustrated by the battle of Panipat in which Bāsawā Rāo was also killed.

We have also discussed the role of the Jats who made an alliance with Safdar Jang and frequently disrupted the peace in the capital. In May 1752 their leader Sūraj Mal plundered Delhi under the instigation of Safdar Jang. This loot and plunder continued for about three months²⁾ and is called in contemporary writings as Jātgarādi. Earlier in Rajab-Sha'bān 1161/June 1748³⁾ the Jats had looted Delhi and no one could prevent them.⁴⁾

In 1167/1753 Safdar Jang passed away and was succeeded by his son Shujā' al-Dawlah, a young lad in his early twenties.⁵⁾ Shujā' was a libertine youth whose main interest lay in loose activities and luxury. He set an unbreaking tradition of women-mongering; he was so much overcome by voluptuous promptings that he would frequently patrol the city along with his gang and abduct beautiful girls. Najm al-Ghani has given the details of a Khatri girl of eighteen years by Shujā' al-Dawlah and his party.⁶⁾ It was this Shi'ah party which most of the time supported the Irani cause in the Sub-continent and undermined the power and prestige of orthodoxy on many occasions. We have already pointed out the role played by Nādir Shāh in shaking the prestige of Delhi Empire. Some historians are of the view that Nādir Shāh was invited by the Irani party to eliminate the orthodoxy from the sub-continent by

crushing the Sunni and Turani groups. It was this occasion when a group of Delhi Muslims decided to commit a collective suicide to save their honor and dignity and Shāh Waliy Allāh could prevent them from doing so after a great deal of solace and consolation.

This theory is also supported by Shāh Waliy Allāh's letter to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. In this letter he says: "I seek the refuge of God from the repetition of what happened under Nādir Shāh who shook the Muslims and overturned them while making the Marathas and the Jats safer and more prosperous he left India; it was after this that the government of the infidels acquired power and prestige while the Islamic forces were left disorganized and dispersed; the sultanate of Delhi became like the game of children⁸⁾ Moreover, the Sunni camp of the Empire tried its best to avert the sack of Delhi at the hands of Nādir Shāh and to save whatever prestige had been left the emperor; while, on the other hand, the Shī'ah camp, or at least a group of it, persuaded the invader to hasten to attack the capital. Nizām al-Mulk Āsif Jāh, the veteran statesman and the efficient administrator and the leader of Sunni (Tūrānī) camp had persuaded Nādir Shāh to avert the sack of the capital. But the efforts were sabotaged by Sa'adat Khān, the ancestor of the House of Oudh⁹⁾ by exploiting Nādir Shāh's cupidity and tempted him to plunder the fabulous wealth preserved in the capital.¹⁰⁾

In this situation the Maratha menace posed the greatest danger to the very survival of Muslim community in the sub-continent. Not only this, but the survival of any civilized

Government and any organized society was like thunder-bolt. Ever the thinking and sensitive soul - from amongst the Hindus viewed the Marathas as a menace to humanity and civilization. Ghulam 'Ali Āzād Bilgrāmi recorded the sentiments of an intelligent and educated Brahmin who viewed the Maratha leaders as "non-sense, wrongheaded, irascible, mean and petty-minded, busy in their mischiefs and tormenting the people of God".¹¹⁾ That is why most of the reasonable people of the sub-continent held the view that the Marathas should be rendered a fatal blow. Anticipating the Battle of Pānīpat, Āzād Bilgrāmi had composed a Ghazal nearly six months before the battle took place; in this Ghazal he predicted the manifest victory for the Muslims and the crushing defeat to the anti Islamic forces. When Āzād presented this Ghazal to Sayyid Qamar al-Dīn Awrangābādī he said: "Godwilling: the Enemy shall be helplessly defeated".¹²⁾

It seems that Āzād Bilgrāmi had warned some Maratha leaders of the consequences of their policies; he wrote letters to some Maratha leaders in this connection. Referring to one such letter Āzād says that although he did not know while writing the letter that every thing will be materialized but "God, the All-Seeing and the All-Hearing, was seeing and hearing; within a few days He materialized the contents of the letter, sent Shāh Durrāni and made the Enemy the quarry of the Forces of Islam....."¹³⁾ On another occasion Āzād himself commented on the role of the Marathas in the destruction of Indian society and its political set-up. He says that the Marathas and their allies, the Kankani Brahmins to whom belonged Bālājī Peshwā, the Maratha chief, aim at closing all

evening of economic activity and everyone except themselves they have snatched the ownership of land and other offices relative to the management of lands from their holders and to uproot these professions by usurping them all. Even the Shī'ar historian, Ghulām Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, who is all praise for every anti-Abdālī and anti-orthodoxy move, preserves quite detailed accounts of Marathe pillages. Summing up his accounts he says:

هر جا که آبادی یافت سوخته و غارت کرده بجای آن برابر ساخت

where there existed any human population it was plundered, put to fire and then smashed and levelled against the earth. 15)

SHĀH WALIY ALLAH'S REACTIONS.

In such a challenging situation where such a quick succession of heavy blows makes the minds stunned and renders them incapable of any deep and accurate thinking, Shāh Walīy Allāh was among those very few who could not only diagnose the malady but had also the courage and determination to put their efforts into reforms into motion. His clear assessment of the contemporary political situation and the deep analysis of the forces at work is clear from his letter to Abdālī and from his memorandum to Muslim elite. He had been a keen and critical observer of the situation; soon he was able to diagnose the disease of the Ummah. At that time the Muslim community of the sub-continent faced two most critical problems of its history. In the first place it required the preservation of its social and moral integrity and its Islamic character. Secondly it required

the preservation of its prestige as an active political force of India in the coming divergent and complicated situation.

It is not a proper place to discuss the causes of the social and moral decay that crisp into the Muslim community. It is however clear that those at the helm of affairs particularly during the ~~re~~ reign of Akbar did not appreciate the delicate and critical position of the Muslims in the sub-continent. The Muslim Empire of the India was established and sustained by a small, well-knit and compact minority of orthodox Muslims. As long as the feeling of common adherence to Islam remained alive and burning the Muslim community remained intact. With the introduction of Shī'ah and other heterodox elements in the body politic of Muslim India, with the emergence of syncretic mysticism the harmonious and uniform character of the Muslim community was badly damaged. This resulted in the criminal negligence of the most critical position of Islam in the sub-continent. The process of religious consciousness became tardy. This let loose both the centrifugal and heretic forces which had hitherto been very ably and circumspectly been manoeuvred to suppressed by the joint efforts of the Ulema and the monarchs.

In the wake of religious decadence always comes the moral chaos which in its turn contributes to the social retrogression. This process continues further and further. The social degeneration results in political disintegration; political disintegration adds to the moral chaos; moral chaos accelerates the process of further and further social disintegration and so on. To bar this process or at least to retard it (at the minimum constituted the long term project of Shāh Waliy Allah. This we have discussed in brief

elsewhere. Here we shall discuss the short term project which meant for the preservation of the Muslim administration and its prestige in the sub-continent. Although the Mughal administration was not upto the ideals of Shāh Waliy Allah but since there was no alternative to it at that time he was interested in its retaining till some good alternative to it would emerge. It seems that Shāh Waliy Allah's thinking about the future of Muslim administration conformed with that of Awrangzeb; the latter was able to foresee that the grand edifice of this vast empire had shaken and his successors would be incapable of keeping its integrity intact any more. It must have been after long and deep pondering that Awrangzeb had suggested the division of the Empire as the only practical solution left. Although the solution was not ideal but it could avert the impending disaster for ~~at~~ a longer period. ¹⁷⁾ Shāh Waliy Allah also seems to have conceived the same solution. This idea is supported by the ^{policies adopted by the} nobles close to Shāh Waliy Allah. Nizām al-Mulk, Najīb al-Dawlah and Hāfiz Rahmat Khān established semi-independent and strong principalities in different parts of the sub-continent. But had this inevitable division taken place soon after Awrangzeb, the Muslim community of India would have been saved from much of the horrors of anarchy and disaster. By the middle of eighteenth century centrifugal and anti-Muslim forces had become so strong and powerful that suppression of all of them was next to impossible for the Muslims. Muslims had to choose between two evils, the East India Company or the Marathes.

The East India Company was founded on the last day of the year 1600. Basically it was designed purely to trade and commercial pursuits in the far Eastern islands. It was only after the failure of English traders to compete the Dutch and the Portuguese traders in that area that the Company turned its attention to the mainland of India. Being ostensibly the promoters of trade and commerce they succeeded in obtaining permission of building their own factories, mills, jāgīrs, forts and settlements. The anarchic conditions after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir and the quick succession of fatal blow⁵ to the Mughal Empire offered a good opportunity for this well-knit and rich community of traders to appear on the political scene of the sub-continent. By the middle of eighteenth century they were able to make their strong-holds with their own well-organized armies in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and other important sea ports. Their direct action for the planned subjugation of India began in 1757 with the battle of Plassey in which Sirāj al-Dawlah fell to them. They raised whom they liked to the throne of Bengal and extracted money from him. It is estimated that between 1757 and 1765 they received five million pounds' sterling from successive puppet Nawabs of Bengal.¹⁹⁾ The influence and power of East India Company was increasing every day. Within eight years after the battle of Plassey the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II was forced to conclude the Treaty of Allahabad in August 1765 with the East India Company by which the dīvāni (administration and revenue-collecting) of three important provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted to the Company.²⁰⁾

This is after his death 1765

This was the position when Shāh Waliy Allāh and his political friends decided to take some drastic action. It seems improbable, rather folly, to think that Shāh Waliy Allāh did not ponder deeply

over the situation before he made the decision. He must have thought over the implications and consequences of any drastic action taken by any power at that time. Previous chapters would have certainly led to the conclusion that Muslim power and prestige during the sixth decade of eighteenth century had totally shaken. It would have been an idlers' idealistic dream to think that Muslims should wrestle with both the forces at a time. They had to choose one of them for the final and decisive battle. The choice of not only Shāh Waliy Allah but a number of rightly thinking men was that the Marathas should be rendered a final blow.

Quite a good number of writers seem to have singled out Shāh Waliy Allah and criticised him for his attitude towards the Marathas. They disapprove Shāh Waliy Allah's severe attitude towards the Marathas and the apparent indifference towards the rapidly advancing English forces. ²¹⁾ But this disapproval might have been light and soft if following points were taken in view.

By all considerations East India Company's subjugation of India was not so imminent in those days as was the danger of a total Maratha subjugation. Moreover, the English were a civilized, advanced and organized people while the Marathas were only an anarchist force interested in loot and plunder. Marathas' annihilation was possible because their power was limited to the sub-continent. When they were shaken once in India they were shaken for ever while this was not the case with the English; they were an international imperialist power. ^{But they} It was impossible for the dying Mughal power to bar the expansion of the English. And had they once managed to turn the English away it was next to impossible to defeat their great naval power. Moreover, the total ascendancy c

the Marathas and the establishment of a Hindu paramount would have sacked Islam and the Muslims from the sub-continent, they would have left no scope for the upholders of the Crescent even to wage a movement for their religious-cultural survival. On the other hand, although the English sacked the political supremacy of the Muslims they could not, due to certain reasons, and in spite of repeated and organized efforts shatter whatever ~~the~~ was left of the religio-cultural integrity of the Muslims. In this connection a comparative study of Shuddhi and Missionary movements would also provide an interesting study and would throw abundant light on this point. Again, the Marathas were indigenous and enormous in number, perhaps three times bigger in number than the Muslims. Their ascendancy in the sub-continent posed a horrible danger to Islam beyond all proportions. The English were foreigner and far much shorter in number than the Marathas. The maximum they could do, and what they actually did, was the political subjugation of Muslim India for a definite period. Had the history decided its course in favour of the Marathas the Muslims would have been totally sub-merged in their oceanic majority.

This is of course the thinking of a Muslim. Even a large number of the Hindus themselves were of the opinion that history should turn its course against the Marathas. Evidence is abundant to the effect that not only Shāh Waliy Allah but also other Muslim nobles, Hindu rajas, the Rājputs and many others coincided in their opinion and feeling the need to render a decisive blow to the Marathas. The fore-most evidence is of the contemporary writer

The Shujā' al-Dīn Azād al-Dīnī who is also the eye witness of the events in those days. Commenting on the background of the Battle of Panīpat, Azād says:

راجا نے قدیم ہندو ازسلطہ غنیم بجان آمدند ، ورتا سینگہ ازمدتے قافیہ نجیب الدولہ
تنگ کردہ بود نمونہ کردہ ترجمہ وزیر الملک شہاب الدولہ گذشتہ - نجیب الدولہ و دیگر افغانہ برائے
تقویت اسلام عمومًا و ضیافت خود خصوصًا وراجا نے ہندوستان پر حفظ ملک خود عرائض بہ
شاہ درانی فرستادہ آمدند ہندوستان التماس کردند۔

(The hereditary (Hindu) Rajas of India were all terribly teased and harrassed by the ascendancy of the enemy (the Marathas, Dattā Sindhiā had driven Najīb al-Dawlah to the wall since a long time as we have discussed in the biography of Nazīr al-Kamālīk Shujā' al-Dawlah. Najīb al-Dawlah and other Afghan leaders, for the consolidation and strengthening of Islam in general and for the Safeguard of their interests in particular, as well as the (Hindi) Rajas of India for the preservation of their Kingshins, sent petitions to (Ahmad) Shāh Durrānī; and requested him to come to India.)²²⁾

A comparatively later authority, Mīr Ghulī Husayn Tabātabāī has also bears witness to this fact. In his Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirīn he says:-

نجیب الدولہ و جمیع افغانہ وراجا نے ہندوستان از دست برھٹ و
عمار الملک (غازی الدین خان) بجان آمدہ عرائض بہ خدمت احمد شاہ ابدالی
نگاشتہ استدعا و ورود او در حدود ہندوستان کردند

(When Najīb al-Dawlah and other Afghan nobles alongwith other Hindu Rajas were continuously harassed and tormented by the Marathas and Imād al-Mulk (Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān) they sent petitions to Ahmad Shāh Abdālī requesting him to come to the territories of.

The Nawab of Bharoch (Kathia-war) is also reported to have invited Ahmad Shāh Abdālī to attack India. The Nawabs of Bharoch are said to have contacts with the principal figures of the Mughal politics: Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān, Najīb al-Dawlah, Nizām al-Mulk and the Mughal Emperor. It is to be noted that these were the personalities on whom Shāh Waliy Allāh also trusted and wrote letters at times of urgency. A later authority, Najm al-Ghani also tells us that Najīb al-Dawlah, all the Afghans and the Rajas joined hands to persuade Abdālī to take a decisive step against the joint-confederacy of the Marathas and a section of Shī'ahs led by Ghāzi al-Dīn Wazīr. Even the Rājapūts are said to have joined in persuading Abdālī but they did not openly come to Abdālī's camp because they perhaps thought they could not afford the enmity of the Marathas.

It is crystal clear from above discussion that the majority of right-thinking people both from Hindus and the Muslims was unanimous on the point that the Marathas should be rendered a fatal blow; all of them cannot be accused of being too superficial and hasty in overlooking the English forces and choosing the Marathas for a final action. What actually prompted each of them to prefer this alternative is yet to be explored.

A BRIEF RESUME OF THE BATTLE OF PĀNĪPAT.

When a definite course of action was resolved arrangements and preparations were started on a wide diplomatic level. Shāh Waliy Allāh shares the credit of uniting two such personalities of eighteenth century politics of Muslim India which are believed to be the ablest personalities of the later half of the eighteenth century politics of Muslim India: Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and Najīb al-Dawlah. According to a well-known Hindu historian, Najīb al-Dawlah had no equal in that age in his

abilities, courage and insight exceed Abdālī. Their unity was not the unity of two individual statesmen and generals; it was a strong confederation of two vigorous fractions of the most potential sections of orthodox Islam: The Rohillas and the Afghans. The former were strictly canonical people and the mainstay of orthodoxy in northern India. A nineteenth century author comments on this character of the Rohillas in these words:

كانوا أشد قوم عصبية لما يتخلونه من آراء فقهاءهم (رحمهم الله تعالى) وأشد الناس جموداً عليها

(They were highly fanatic for the opinions of their jurists and most rigid and inflexible for their ideas. ²⁹⁾ Nāṭib al-Dawlah tried to streamline the rigidity and uncompromising attitude of his people. He established a big seminary in Dārānager in which he appointed well-known Ulema from Farangi Mahal, a great center of Islamic learning and education during ^{the} post-Aurangzeb period. The Ulema of Farangi Mahal were liberal and lenient orthodox.

To insure this unit Shāh Waliy Allah wrote to Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and acquainted him with the situation in the Sub-continent. We have already quoted the full text of his memorandum to the ³⁰⁾ Afghan monarch; this memorandum is the epitome of Shāh Waliy Allah's critique of the situation and of his diagnose of some of the political diseases of Muslim India. The document not only gives a clear picture of the events after the death of Aurangzeb but also analyses the anti-Muslim political and centrifugal forces; it also gives in fuller details the reasons for the degeneration of Muslim administration. The origins of the Marathas, the Jats and the Sikhs and their rise has been discussed at length and their shortcomings and drawbacks have also been pointed out. Then the writer passes on to the economic conditions of the empire and enumerates the causes of its economic decay and how it can be dealt with. He also points out to the obnoxious role of some of

some of the Muslim nobles and warns the Afghan monarch from their disruptive and dubious activities. At the end the writer fervently and with a burning heart appeals to his addressee to appreciate the situation and realise the unique position he enjoys; he appeals to the monarch to perform his due responsibilities and come to the rescue of Islam and the Muslims from the clutches of the Marathas.

The letter is so well-worded, logically ordered and pathetically written that the reader not only gets a complete and perfect picture of the state of affairs and ~~knows~~ remedy to be resorted to but also moves to take immediate action in its light.

The hero of the battle, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī deserves to be given a brief life sketch here. He was born in 1722 in Multan (Pakistan) where his father is said to have migrated. Then his father, Zamān Shāh moved to Herat along with his family. In the confusion that prevailed in the area Ahmad Shāh and his brother Qhu'l Fiqār managed to win the confidence of Nādir Shāh, the Irani potentate. The elder brother got the governorship of Herat while the younger, Ahmad Shāh, was enlisted among the personal attendants of Nādir Shāh in which capacity he was, later on, given a command of one thousand men. Ahmad Shāh was a very intelligent, brave and able man; he had a receptive mind and learnt much of politics, statecraft and warfare from his closeness to Nādir Shāh. It is said that Nādir Shāh had predicted the
31)
ascendancy of Abdālī.

After the murder of Nādir Shāh in 1747, Abdālī managed to get possession of his treasury and went to Qandhar along with his

supporters. Therefore, at the strong word of the future Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, there a Jirgah (convention) comprising all important Afghan nobles and other influential men was held to chalk out the future lines of action. The Jirgah remained in session for about eight days; it unanimously decided to sever all links with Persia and to elect a king of their own with Qandhar as the seat of their government. But they could not agree as to the person to be elected as the future ruler; every clan put forth his claims. On ninth day a darwish, called Muḥammad Qābir Shāh, made an effective and assertive speech in favour of Ahmad Shāh.³²⁾ After elaborating the qualifications, services and experience of Ahmad Shāh, he made a pathetic appeal to the audience to elect Ahmad Shāh Abdālī as their ruler. The speech made its effect all other claimants withdrew their names and Ahmad Shāh was unanimously elected as the supreme leader of the Afghans. Thus, at the age of about twenty five years he was crowned as the King of the future state of Afghanistan.

Ahmad Shāh Abdālī proved to be a very good administrator and statesman. Unlike his great contemporary and ally Najīb al-Dawlah, he was well-educated and well-read. He had got his regular education in Islamic sciences, Arabic and Persian languages and other necessary subjects. He did not face much difficulty in assessing the political situation and formulating his future policy. He was able to organize his government soon. Before the lapse of one year from his coronation, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī had to get involved in the politics of the sub-continent. He made his first invasion in 1748 which ushered in a succession of other invasions. But his most important invasion on India was against

the Marathas in 1761. He was so much entangled in Afghan politics that he could be the only person to be sought help against the Maratha-Jat-Shi'ah confederacy.

It were the ably conducted diplomatic efforts of Najib al-Dawlah to neutralize the most influential Shi'ah noble Shujā' al-Dawlah ~~xx~~ who had succeeded his father, Safdar Jang, as the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh. Najib wrote to him and informed him about the invitation extended to Abdālī and appealed to him for rendering every possible help to the united Muslim camp. Najib also told him that his help would guarantee the survival of both and warned him that if the Marathas conquered his (Najib's) territories they would also be tempted to conquer his (Shujā's)³³⁾ territories as well. But inspite of his outwardly support to the Muslim camp Shujā' al-Dawlah continued to play a double game; he kept correspondence with the Marathas chiefs and his emissaries³⁴⁾ regularly visited the Maratha courts.

After the entire preparations were made and the stage was ready for the final and mortal blow, Abdālī rushed to India and encamped near Shāhdarāh on the bank of river Jamuna, some three or four miles south west of Delhi; it was in summer 1760. Here, the Marathas had also made all necessary preparations for face the situation; they tried to capture Delhi and dethrone the Mughal Emperor to demoralize the Muslim camp and Muslim masses. A Maratha leader Shivrāo Bhōoji managed to rush in the capital where he looted and plundered the local population. Some Maratha chiefs tried to place a young lad of 17, Vishwās Rāo, the son of the Peshwā on the throne of Delhi and to proclaim the realisation

of their long-overlooked break of unusually material not some other material circles advised that the entire operation and the subsequent proclamation should be postponed till Ahmad Shāh Abdālī was driven out of the sub-continent and he crossed Attock. The advice was accented and all concentrated their ³⁵⁾ attention to face the enemy.

Both the armies exchanged fire periodically for about two months. On October 25 Ahmad Shāh crossed the river and repulsed the enemy some miles back where they chose the historic field of Pānīpat for this historic battle and encamped there. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī was also encamped on their south about four miles from Jamuna's bank. A couple of months elapsed with no further move from either side. By this movement the Marathas felt their weakness and had perhaps anticipated their fate; they tried to effect any reconciliation with Ahmad Shāh. But these efforts were ³⁶⁾ frustrated by the intelligent and circumspect Najīb al-Dawlah. Finally, they decided to settle the issue once for all and the battle was begun early in the morning on a fine day of early ³⁷⁾ January 1761. The clash was very dreadful, but the Muslim artillery wrought havoc in the Maratha artillery led by a Muslim general Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdi and slaughtered more than six thousand artillery men in the early hours of the battle. By soon Vishwās Rao and his uncle Bhāo were killed. Muslim left wing under Najīb al-Dawlah overwhelmed its counterpart and drove it back; Malhār Rāo, Sindhia, and others slipped away from the scene. Thus, the right wing of the Marathas was completely wiped out by Najīb ³⁸⁾ and his men. A few hours before sun-set (at about 3 p.m.) the battle was over. Some Muslim soldiers, however, continue to pursu

the fugitives in the field.

After the battle is over, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī went to the field for making a personal survey of Muslim and Maratha casualties. In the course of his patrol he saw the body of the messenger who had brought Shāh Waliy Allah's letter to him. When the Shāh went to Delhi he visited his house for condolence. He consoled the martyr's widow and granted her presents; he also issued instructions to the concerned officials to look after her and protect her. This shows the great respect the Abdālī had for Shāh Waliy Allah. It is not known whether the Durānī conqueror had met Shāh Waliy Allah in Delhi or not. Shāh Waliy Allah died next year in 1762. This is not a lesser achievement that he could live to see the success of his short-term plan for the destruction of Maratha power and for the recovery of Muslim forces from losing prestige. And, thus, the dream of Hindu Raj Padshahi in the sub-continent was cast into dust for ever.

References

1. Irvine, Late Mughals, Vol. II, pp. 577-78.
2. For details, Shāh Waliy Allāh, Siyāsī Maktūbāt, p. 49;
B.N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 480-482,
Vol. II, p. 435.
3. Sarkar, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 480-88
4. Siyāsī Maktūbāt, p. 89.
5. Muḥammad Najm al-Ghani Khān, Tārīkh-i-Āwadh, Vol. II, p. 2.
6. Ibid. pp. 3-4.
7. Cf. for example, Manāẓir Aḥsan Gilāni, cf. Al-Furqān op. cit.
pp. 180 - ff.
8. Shāh Waliy Allāh, Siyāsī Maktūbāt, p. 52.
9. Qureshi, Muslim Community, p. 174; Also. Tabāṭabā'i, II,
p. 484.
10. Ibid.
11. Bilgrāmi, Shujā' al-Āzād, Khazānah-i-Āmirah, Comenur, 1871,
p. 105:
برعنے از نامدہ فقیر کہ جو ہرقاب و مصائب و مدار علیہ باد و بود مکاتبت محتون ہر
صائق ہندوتان متواتر بہ فقیر نوشتہ - در مکتوبہ فی نوید :
" --- سرداران برعنے حمد لغو ، کچہ فہم ، زور رنج ، اون عمت ، مہر و
نام علیہ خور و ازیت سے خلق اللہ --- "
12. Ibid. p. 109.
13. Āzād Bilgrāmi, Khazānah-i-Āmirah, p. 110-111
14. فحقی نامد کہ فرقتین مذکور تین نیستہ دارند کہ ہر جادست یا بند و جوہ
معاش جمیع خلق خدا بند کردہ بطرف خود می کشند ، و زمینداری و مقدی
و محل پٹواری گری ہم با قدمین نہ گذاشتہ ، اساس دارشان کار ہائے مذکور
را از پنج وین ہر کندہ بنیاد دفل و تصرف خود قائم کنند

15. Qāṭiḥ al-Faṣṣḥ, al-Maṣṣaf al-Maṣṣaf, Vol. I, p. 100.
For fuller details of character of documents, Vol. I, p. 100.
16. Both these documents have been quoted in full above.
17. Cf. Shaykh 'Abd al-Nashīd, in his Foreword to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Ed., Shah Waliy Allah Ke Siyasi Makhtubat, p.
18. For fuller discussion, I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, pp. 106-107; Khafi Khan, Muntakhab al-Lubab Vol. II pp. 564-566.
19. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, pp. 360 ff.
20. Ibid. pp. 124-125.
21. E.L. Mawdudi, Sayyid 'Abu'l 'Ala, Taidic wa Inqā-i-Din, Fifth Ed., Lahore, 1952, pp. 141-142.
22. Azad Bilgrami, Khazānah-i-'Amran, Chawpuri, 1871 pp. 101-2.
23. Siyar al-Muta'akhhirin, Lucknow, ^{1314/1897} Vol. II p. 909, for fuller discussion, see pp. 196 ff.
24. Cf. Sayyid Mustafā 'Ali Bareilwi, Al-'ilm, Karachi, January-March 1977, pp. 47 ff. According to Bareilwi a collection of forty letters written by the Nawabs of Bharoch to different people including those mentioned in the text is extant. The compiler of these letters was Maunshi Mishore Dās, Kātib in the Dār al-Inshā' of Bharoch. But Mr. Bareilwi did not disclose where the collection is preserved and whether it has been published or not.
25. Tārīkh-i-Awadh. Vol. II, p. 25.
26. Cf. Sardār Muḥammad Yāqūb Khān, Mard-i-Abdālī, p. 132.
27. Cf. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Siyasi Makhtubat, Introduction pp. 15-16.

27. S. S. Sarnal, The History of the Marathas, Vol. I, p. 411; for the qualifications and characteristics of the Konikias, or. cit. Vol I, pp. 51-53.
28. Munsif Tiribti, Al-Yānī al-Jāni, p. 53.
29. See Supra.
30. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 258, f.n. 1.
31. The story of Qābir Shāh has been variously related by different authors. His presence and somewhat active role has, been recognized by many writers; c.f on. cit. fn 3.
32. Muḥammad Najm al-Ghani Khān, Tārīkh-i-Awadh, Vol. II, p. 23.
33. Muḥammad Najm al-Ghani, Tārīkh-i-Awadh, Vol. II p. 35.
34. Ibid. pp. 28-29.
35. The exact date of the battle has variously been given. Sayyid Muḥīn al-Haqq however, prefers 14th January, cf. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 291-292.
36. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 291-292.
37. For fuller details, Ibid. pp. 293-295.
38. The story has been cited by Muḥammad Yaḥyā Qūb Khān, Mard-i-Madāli, ~~xxxx~~ Lyallpur, n.d. p. 225.
39. The Jats were already given a crushing defeat by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1754.

MISSIONARY LETTERS OF SHĀH MUHAMMAD SALAH

A. SALIQA, DECCAN

It has been a common practice among a number of Muslim saints and scholars to keep contact with different leaders of politics and public opinion through their letters; thus they not only guided their addressees on different occasions but also successfully made their personal and heart-to-heart communication with them. This practice has always proved successful in inculcating missionary and reformatory zeal in the hearts and minds of Muslims politicians and generals. Instances of such missionary and reformatory correspondence are frequently found in Islamic history. To quote only the examples of the sub-continent suffices here to refer to a few of them.

1. Maktūbat-i-Sih Sadi, Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā Manīri, Lahore, 1319, Urdu translation also available.
2. Maktūbat, 3 vols. Shaykh Ahmad Serhāndi, we have referred to them earlier; Urdu, Arabic and partial English translations are also available.
3. Maktūbat, Khawājah Muḥammad Wāṣūm, Urdu translation also available, Lucknow, 19;
4. Al-Makātīb w' al-Rasā'il, Shaykh, 'Abd al-Haq Muḥaddith Dihlawi, 2 Vols. Urdu translation also available, Karachi. n.d.
5. Anfās-i-Rahīmiyyah, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm, father of Shāh Salīh Allāh.

Urdu translation also available, Lahore, n.d.

6. Ma'ārif-i-Shāh Waliy Allah, edited by Shah Waliy Allah, Lahore, 1975.
7. Ma'ārif-i-Shāh Waliy Allah, edited by Muhammad Ja'far Thanesari, (Urdu translation, Karachi, 1969.
8. Shams al-Ma'arif, Shah Muhammad Sulayman Phulwarwi, Karachi, 1969.
9. Iqbal's letters to Jinnah, Edited by M.A. Jinnah.
10. Iqbal Nāmah, Edited by Shaykh 'Atā' Allah, 2 vols, Lahore.
11. Mawlānā Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi's letters to Qasid-i-Azam and other leaders of All India Muslim League, cited by Ahmad Saeed, Mawlānā Ashraf Ali Thanvi aur Jadd-o-Jihd-i-Āzādi, Rawalpindi, ~~MAHARAJA~~ 1972

These are a few examples from the bulk of letters written by Muslim Scholars to their contemporary dignitaries to educate them on points of significance. The collections we have cited contain, ~~MAHARAJA~~ inter alia, letters to different people on various political, social and legal problems Shah Waliy Allah was no exception to this popular tradition. He wrote letters to his contemporary elites whenever the occasion arose. The importance of the task of collecting and editing the letters of Shah Waliy Allah was felt in his own life time. His pupils and adherents always tried to acquire the copies of his letters and to preserve them. They even exchanged these copies among themselves so that every one should have a complete set of the master's epistles. 1)

The work of general editing of all the letters of Shāh Waliy Allah was started by Shāh 'Abd al-Rahmān, the son of Shāh Muhammad 'Ashiq. Shāh 'Abd al-Rahmān was a student of Shāh Waliy Allah and had specialized with him in uṣūl-i-faṣṣṭ and the Quranics. He was able to collect two hundred and eighty two letters up to 1168 A.H., the year of his sudden and untimely death in youth. His work was carried on by his illustrious father, Shāh Muhammad 'Ashiq who collected the letters (perhaps written mainly during the last seven years of his teacher's life) He collected seventy-seven letters which were edited as the second volume while the earlier collection was separated as the first volume. It seems that Shāh Muhammad 'Ashiq continued to get the letters of his teacher even after the latter's death. Because he is reported to have always tried to get them from every possible source.

These collections were preserved by all those who were interested in them. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy reports that the collections of not only Shāh Waliy Allah's letters but also those ^{of} his brother Shāh Ahl Allah's and his son, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's letters were preserved with their descendants as late as in 1894. The fate of these collections is not known; it is however, certain that they have not been destroyed during the loot and plunder of the buildings of Madrasah Rahīmīyyah during the War of Independence 1857.

At least one copy of the 2 volume collection made by Shāh 'Abd al-Rahmān and his father Shāh Muhammad 'Ashiq escaped destruction and has come down to us. These two volumes contain

Some of the letters are also preserved in the personal collection of Nawab Fuzayl Khan Chāndūrī. Of these Shah Waliy Ahmad Rizi has first selected twenty six letters of political and historical importance and first published them in Aligarh in 1951. The Editor has prepared a second enlarged edition of the letters which contains some forty-^{two} letters; this edition has been published in Delhi in 1969.⁷⁾

The first edition contains the following letters:

1. A Memorandum addressed to the Mughal Emperor and all the ministers, lords and the members of Muslim nobility. We have quoted it in full, (see Supra).

2. Another Memorandum addressed "to a King". It is supposed to have been addressed to Ahmad Shah Abdālī, it has also been quoted in full.

3. Eight letters to Najīb al-Dawlah.

4. Eight letters to Shah Muhammad 'Ashiq, the Editor of the second volume.

5. A letter addressed to Sayyid Ahmad Rohilla.

6. Three letters addressed to Nigām al-Mulk Āḡāf Jāh I.

7. A letter to Tāj Muhammad Khan Balūch.

8. A letter to Nawab Majd al-Dawlah Bahādur.

9. A letter to Nawab 'Abd Allah Khan Kashmīrī.

10. A letter to Hāffiz Jār Allah Panjābī.

It is strange that no date has been given in any letter.

It is difficult to determine whether Shah Waliy Allah himself did not mention the dates or the scribe or the editor has omitted them. It is not improper if we give here selected extracts from some of the letters to throw light on the political analysis of

various issues to Amir Ali Shah Shah.

First of all we quote some extracts from the letters addressed to Najib al-Dawlan. His life and work has already been discussed in fuller details.

1. "God, the Great and High, may favour the Leader of the Mujahidin with His open victory and manifest support. And favouring this deed with His honourable acceptance, may He grand fruits and auspicious blessings as the results. May it be known to you by the humble Waliy Allah, after love and greetings, that prayers are made here for the victory of the Muslims; and from the voice of prophecy I feel the signs of their acceptance. I hope that God, the High, would revive the method of Jihad at your hands and would grant its blessings in this world and in Hereafter: verily He is Nearer and Listener."

2. "God, the Great and the High, may protect the Amir of the Ghazis, the Leader of the Mujahidin and may favour him with His eyes of kindness. Be it known after Salam that I received your kind letter. I thanked God for the health and safety of your Excellency's person. I feel that the destruction of the two stray communities, the Marathas and the Jats has been decided in the Heavens, now it is only the matter of time. As soon as the friends (i.e. Najib and his allies) will embark upon it and will get ready for the battle, the talisman of infidelity will, inshAllah, be shattered."

"There is another point to be clarified. When the royal forces traverse the city of Delhi, full care should be taken that there is no wrong or evil or ill-treatment is done to the city as

... and the fashion earlier. The people of Delhi have several times faced plunders of their wealth and property as well as dishonour and disgrace, that is why the realization of royal objectives has been delayed. After-all the sigh of the oppressed has its effects. This time if you want that the delayed works are done you should strictly prohibit that no one is to tease or offend the Muslims and the Dhimmis of Delhi. And (accept my)
9)
greetings:-

3. "God, the Great and the High, may favour and bless the source of Good, the Amīr of the Mujāhidīn and the Leader of the Ghāzis with fresh victories and boundless blessings. It is presented from the humble Waliy Allah, may he be forgiven! Most of the time I pray God who grant prayers that may He make the forces of the infidels defeated and exterminated. I am confident by the grace of God that this will be realized soon."

"In India there are three groups of infidels who are characterised with severity and firmness. Unless these ~~gangs~~ are exterminated neither any ruler can sit quiet, nor the lords can sit peacefully nor the masses can live satisfactorily and with tranquillity. Both the religious and the worldly interest depends up this: after the conquest against the Marathas you should immediately move to the castles of the Jats and conquer them easily with the force of divine blessings. After that will be the turn of the Sikhs, this party should also be up set down. God's mercy should be expected."

"Another important point is that the Muslims of India -- be of Delhi or elsewhere -- have to face many disasters, loots and plunders. Since they have already been blown with shocks, it is no
10)

the occasion of the victory, the gates shall be opened in strict
order and shall be opened and closed according to the property of
the Muslims. In this case it is hoped that the portals of victory
shall be successively opened. But in case this matter is neglected
I am afraid that the sighs of the oppressed will become a barrier¹¹⁾
in the way of the objective."

This letter seems to have been written in early fifty's of
the eighteenth century when the Marathas were instigated by Safdar
Jang to attack the capital and plunder it and Najib had joined the
Mughal Emperor at the head of ten thousand Rohilla warriors. Here
Shāh Waliy Allah refers that Delhi was plundered several times.
During the life time of Shāh Waliy Allah Delhi was looted three
times. First in 1739 by Nādir Shāh second time by the Jats in¹²⁾
Rajab-Shābān 1161 (1748) and third time again by the Jats in¹³⁾
May 1752. That is why it seems probable that the letter was writ-
ten some times after the third loot in 1752.

4. "... From humble Waliy Allah, may he be forgiven.
He is known after loving salāms and greetings that my son conveyed
to me a verbal message from your exalted Highness about the
ascendancy of the Jats in the suburbs (319) of Delhi and their
insurrection; your message also requested me to give a detailed
answer in this connection. Therefore a few words are written
in this respect."

"The fact is that I have seen in a vision the extermination
of the Jats in the same manner in which the Marathas have been
exterminated. I have also seen that the Muslims have become
masters of the lands and the forts of the Jats and their places
have become dwelling places of the Muslims. The most preferred

... prior to that the Muslims will have to be prepared for the tests of the Jats. This should have been decided in the invisible heavens and I have no doubt in it, but its practical shape has not yet appeared in the Kingdom of the heavens. It is imperative that those servants of God should pay their attention and spirit who have been raised for this purpose."

"After this point has become clear, the advice of this humble man is that my dear's Excellency should resolve in your heart to make the word of God exalted and to strengthen the Millah of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and to wage a jihad against those cursed people (i.e. the Jats). The day you depart from your house with the intention of Jihad inform me so that I may meditate to God in the manner He had taught me. I hope by the Grace of God that an unprecedented victory will emerge and the forces of those cursed people will be shattered."

"This should be borne in mind that the war with the enemy has its vicissitudes; one should not be disheartened with any ordinary news (of weakness etc.) which war since the genesis of Adam till today has been without any vicissitudes? To exaggerate in such matters is not the habit of this humble man. There is yet another point which is to be fixed in mind. It is this: some Hind men outwardly your and your government's servants and have in fact inclination towards those cursed people; they would never want that the infidels be exterminated. These servants will employ thousands of tricks and will try to beautify the armistice in your eyes with all possible means."

"You should resolve in your heart never to listen to those people and never to have any inclination to their opinion. If you

will show the inclination of these people's opinion as to what will be preferred. I know this thing as if someone is seeing with his own eyes.¹⁰

This letter has definitely been written in 1761-2 after the great defeat of the Marathas in the battle of Pānīpat in 1761, because Shāh Waliy Allah is referring to the total extermination of the Marathas to have already taken place. Although the Jats were rendered a heavy and decisive blow in 1754 by Abdālī, exactly two years after the second Jātgrāhī in 1752, they had still infractable brackets scattered around Delhi. In this letter Shāh Waliy Allah is trying to convince Najīb to fight a decisive battle against the Jats as well. It also appears from this letter that Najīb al-Dawlah regularly kept Shāh Waliy Allah aware of the situation and sought his guidance and advice whenever he stood in need of his guidance. It also seems that the sons of Shāh Waliy Allah paid regular visits to Najīb al-Dawlah and served as the intermediary between their father and Najīb al-Dawlah.

5. "... From humble waliy Allah, may be he forgiven. Be it known after the loving Salam that I received your affectionate letter containing the (news of your) readiness for the Jihād against the Jats; it also contained your enquiry about the groups of the Muslims who have joined hands with the Jats as to what treatment should be meted out to them. My dear! The conquest of the Jats is a fait accompli in the heavens. In this respect no insinuation should get way to your kind heart. Inshāllah, as soon as the two armies (Muslims and the Jats) will face each other their talisman will be shattered like that of the Marathas. If a

association of the Muslims is joining hands with Jats no good should be allowed (to keep time to your heart). I hope there will be no worry except that the enemies shall outwardly appear to be superior in number. Inshāllah, God will shut the hands of those Muslims (who are supporting the Jats) and they will not fight. That party will face the same defeat as ~~the~~ goats face when the tigers enter their herd. You should not fear from the superior number of the enemy or the association of some of the Muslims with the enemy. The will of God is victorious and predominant. If the infidels present to Your Excellency the proposal of making truce with tricks and fraud no heed should be paid to their proposal. And if some Muslims ~~whose~~ whose intention about the exaltation of the Dīn of Holy Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) is weak and they try to over come you with distant, remote and irrelevant consideration no hearing should be given to them. You should not engage your mind except with the prepartition of war and (gaining of) strength in this work. Miyān Faqīr Gul has related to me in details some of the sayings and false and baseless worries of the Muslims."

"It is again written with stress that where-ever you depart for the Jihād against the Jats, you should inform me. Inshāllah, I will keep praying God heartily from that time till the moment of ¹⁷⁾ victory....."

This letter has also been probably written in 1761-62 after the defeat of the Marathas. These two letters show how much personal interest Shāh Waliy Allah took in the suppression of the Jats' anarchy and how he encouraged Muslim nobility to take immediate action against the centrifugal forces.

Now we reproduce three letters addressed to Shāh Muḥammad Āshiq himself, the compiler editor of the second volume of the collection of letters. In a subsequent chapter we will discuss at length the contribution of Shāh Muḥammad Āshiq in advancing the cause of his teacher as well as the nature of his relations with Shāh Waliy Allah. Therefore, here we only quote the text (English rendering) of the letters.

1. "... Praise and thanks be to God, peace and safety has been awarded (to me) during this general tumult. This part of the city did not even know whether the enemy forces have at all come or not. We suffered no trouble of either the plunder of the looters or the taxes and indemnities that were levied on the families. In the fact it has been said to Alamḡir that during this tumult you will remain safe; it has also realised. The certificates and documents of (the properties of) many were confiscated except my documents and certificates (of ownership) which were returned to me after attestation ~~xxxx~~ These days Ahmad Shāh Durāni is paying attention to the war against the Jats. Whatever will occur will be written to you. The citizens of the city (of Delhi) escaped their massacre ; however, the rotten element of wealth and money which has been accumulated in their nature has now been totally purged and wiped out. It is a great lesson and example that those who were superior in rank and dignity were earlier and more advanced in suffering from imprisonment, beating and striking with stick....."¹⁸⁾

This letter seems to have been written in 1757 when Abdālī was busy in his campaigns against the Jats. This time also he was invited by Emperor Alamḡir II to undo the increasing influence of

ʿIrān al-Madīn and the Jats. Some historians tend to believe that ʿAlī al-Dawlah also played an effective role in persuading the Afghan monarch to come to India. Although he rendered a heavy blow to the Jats, he could not or did not put a complete end to their military and political power. In this letter Shāh Waliy Allah related some of the events that took place around him.

2. "... Thank God, we are safe here, Today I have heard a hearsay which has worried and perplexed us; it is that the Durrānī forces are moving towards Bārhaḥ and it is, no doubt, a thing to be worried about. I believe they have no business in the area of Phulat and Budhāna. In short, I hope that by the Grace of God, He would save you from all the calamities. These sentiments are boiling out of my heart, although some-times worries come to the heart in view of the outwardly manifestations; such worries I always try to recompense."

This letter was most probably written in 1757 when Abdālī's forces were crushing the Jats' brackets scattered in the vicinity of Delhi and in other adjacent districts. The details of these campaigns may be found in Sarkar's The Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol II. pp. 114-123.

3. "... Whatever appears to me is that Abdālī will come again to India to crush the infidels and to demolish their government. After the completion of 'the promised task' he would live here in this land. The continuation of this work, inspite of the excess of sins and the accumulation of curser, seems due to (God's will to smash) this ascendancy of the infidels.

This letter was perhaps written in early 1700 when Abdālī had already communicated his consent to come to India in response to the petitions sent to him by Shāh Waliy Allah and others. In this letters, on the one hand Shāh waliy Allah assures his addressee of the arrival of Abdālī to crush the infidels and on the other hand he hints to Abdālī's promise to come. Moreover, it appears from this letter that Shāh waliy Allah had requested the Afghan ruler to settle down permanently in India. The emphatic terms in which Shāh Waliy Allah informs that 'after the completion of the promised task he would live here in this land' suggest that Abdālī had conveyed his willingness to do so. But Shāh Waliy Allah's memorandum to Abdālī, quoted above, does not make mention of any such request. Did Shāh Waliy Allah write other letters to Abdālī as well? Or did he sent any embassy to him?

25)

4. "... I had received the letter of Sayyid Fath Allah. I have written to him to recite يا حفيظ (O Protector) according to the chronographical numbers of the phrase, (i.e. 998 times), to recite the Sūrah al-Fil one thousand and one times. Several times before this and several times after this Salat may be invoked in this formula.

اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد بن عبد الله على اعداد رب العالمين

O God, send peace and blessings to the Leader of the conquerors of the enemies of the Lord of the Universe. A few Ta'widhes of arms' were also sent. In my letter to him I also wrote: It comes to the heart of this humble man that if the Muslims cross the

river and attack the Maratha gathering once in a while, a
marvellous sign of God's signs will be witnessed, and those
26,
cursed will be scattered like a Talisman."

This is one of the most important letters of this collection. This shows how Shāh Waliy Allah kept close contact with those busy in carrying out his programmes. He not only guided them in the spiritual to chaïques of overcoming the enemy but also pondered over strategic matters and advised them whenever necessary. It is to be noted that both the Muslim armies and the Maratha armies remained encamped on two banks of the river Jamuna everyone waiting the other party to take the initiative. Then one should remember that it was Abdālī who had taken the initiative and had crossed the river. It is not improbable, in view of Shāh Waliy Allah's letters to Sayyid Fath Allah, to suggest that the initiative of Abdālī was master-minded by Shāh Waliy Allah.

Now a letter of Shāh Waliy Allah addressed to Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad, a saint-scholar of Rohilkhand, is quoted. Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad was one of the most influential Ulama of Rohilkhand but unfortunately the ~~resources~~ at our disposal do not throw sufficient light on his life and works. In his Hayāt-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, Sayyid Altāf 'Alī Bareilvi makes mention of Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad in connection with an embassy sent by Hāfiz Rahmat Khān to Nawab Qā'im Khān, the son of Nawab Muḥammad Khān Bangash.

".... Accept the Salam and Greetings from the humble
Waliy Allah."

"The friends who came here from your side were all facile
in your praise and thanks that you raised the Rohilla forces for
the support of the King of Islam and the defence against loot and

message of the Mawlānā in such a manner that better than that is not imaginable. I was extremely happy and pleased to listen to these stories; and the prayers for the exaltation of your prestige and position in this world and in the Hereafter sprang from my heart.²⁷⁾

This letter was perhaps written sometimes in 1750 after the battle Dorny Rasulpūr, near Badām, between Qā'im Khān and Hāfiz Rahmat Khān.²⁸⁾ This battle took place in November-December 1749. Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad played an important role in an effort toward off the war and bring the parties at way to negotiations. But when the negotiations failed the Mawlānā took active part in the war in favour of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān.²⁹⁾

Now we reproduce two letters addressed to Wazīr al-Mamālik Nizām al-Daula Āṣif Jāh I, the founder of the Āṣifiyyah dynasty in Hyderabad Deccan. His life-sketch has already been given.³⁰⁾

1. "... Praise be to God and peace be upon those of His servants whom He chose. It has become clear to the heart of this humble that it has been decided in the Heavens that the infidels be disgraced and humiliated; some times after that the rebels shall also be ruined, wretched and disgraced. If Your Exalted Highness resolve to fight these cursed people all these (successes) will be attributed to you and the whole world will be subjected by you. I will cause the ascendancy of the Millat and the solidarity of your government."

"Efforts will be meager while the results will be greater. If you do not do your efforts, all those people will be ruined and shrunk automatically through the heavenly disasters; in that case

this meaning of success will not be attributed to you.

کار زلف تست شبنم نیستی اما شفق
صلوات آید بر آہوئے بین سبہ اند

(31)

"The task of your curl is the diffusion of the fragrance of Musk, but the lovers have accused the gazelle of China for it only due to their own interests."

"Since this thing is crystal clear and certain to me I have spontaneously written to you. Consider this time a blessing and never let negligence and laziness to come in the work of Jihad against the enemies of God. After sometime everything will be clear to you."

و سوف تری اذا انكشف الغبار
أفرس تحت رجبك أم حمار

(32)

"Soon thou wilt see when the dust is removed whether a horse under thy thighs or an ass."

Since the object was only to fully express the truth and friends and sincerity was the aim, exaggeration is abstained from. This matter cannot unimaginably be clearer than this.

گوئے توفیق و کراست در میان افگندہ اند
کن بمیدان درنی آید سواران را چه شد

"The ball of divine help and magnanimity has been thrown before; no one enters the ground (to pick up the ball); I wonder what happened to the riders? Things which I have told my confident

informs confidentially, I have written here openly so that there would remain no excuse.³⁴

Although this letter has been attributed to Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm by Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī the present writer is inclined to believe that it was written by Shāh Waliy Allah. Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm had died in 1131 A.H./1718 A.D. i.e. about eleven years after Awrangzeb's death. The Maratha threat by that time, did not get that much proportion in the North that Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm could have felt the need of their crushing in the North. As far as the South is concerned, he had already set himself the task of suppressing the unarchist forces in the Deccan and organizing the ^{new} establishment there soon after his assumption of office in 1713. The Maratha menace reached a threatening proportion during the decade that followed Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1739. It, therefore, seems probable that Shāh Waliy Allah would write him this letter to invite his attention on this rising tide. The following letter supports this conclusion. In this letter he refers to an earlier letter of his in which he had warned the Nizam of the dimensions of the Maratha menace.

2. "God may grant you unlimited promotions, bless you with the bounties of both the worlds and save you from the calamity of the two worlds. After this prayer be it known to you that Bābā Faḍl Allah asked me about certain things. It came to my mind that these should be explained with the tongue of the pen."

"All these misfortunes that are taking place are, to my mind, due to the abstention from war against the Marathas, whether this abstention (توقف) is voluntary or involuntary. In those days when I had made you aware (of the significance of this responsibility) if any action was taken at that time ; miraculous

favour of him would have killed its contents, according to the saying of the prophet

إِنَّ مَكِيدَتِ أَيُّمٍ دَعَرِكُمْ لَمَّا تَأْتِي أَلَّا تَعْرِضُوا بِهَا

Your Lord has some breezes in the days of your life in this world; you should try to catch those breezes. Although the predetermination includes all the happenings, in the domain of God's wisdom every thing is bound with Good. After all, let bygone be bygone.

"As regards the problem of Ruzh Khān Afghan, I hope from God's Grace it will be extinguished very soon. It appears that this man will not succeed and his evil designs will not be realised. What appears to me is that my dear (i.e. Nizām al-Mulk) will remain successful, triumphant, protected and pleased. It is better for the Emperor to remain here than to go outside. You can take with you someone from amongst the princes whom you like."

"In short, God the most High and the most Great has bestowed upon you a total ascendancy in India. He, the Faqirs and the humbles, have a big hope in you; we hope that the eradication of cruelties, replacement of evil customs, enforcement (Tarwīj) of the Dīn-i-Matīn, the establishment of Amir ~~Munkar~~ b'l 'Ma'rūf and al-Munkar, Nahy an ^{the} spread of knowledge, prayers and fasting, all this will emerge in its full form (at your hands). Because in you I could discern an extraordinary magnanimity and excellence and your disposition seemed to me receptive of righteousness, piety, intelligence and acumen; and a longing for good things was also discernible in you. It is perhaps due to the exigencies and requirements of the time that these excellence (of you) have no

the energy of the world. You will see that the world is in a loss:

"I would also like to request you to try as far as possible to remove the scarcity of grains; and to put an end as far as possible to the plunder and loot which became current throughout the four corners of the world (i.e. India).
36)
It is also one of the most important things....."

This letter is also one of the most important letters of this collection. This dates to a period between 1747-1748 and Nizām al-Mulk received it during the last months of his life. This is the time when Nizām al-Mulk was busy in touring extensively the Deccan areas trying to suppress the disturbances of the Marathas. The letter also refers to the problem of Qutb al-Dīn Khān Afghan; Shāh Waliy Allāh prophesies that Qutb al-Dīn will not succeed in his designs. Here a brief hint to this incident is given for the full appreciation of the letter.

It seems that Safdar Jang, a Shī'ah noble and the Nawab-wazīr of Oudh was a born enemy of the Rohillas. He always watched with hatred their growing power and influence in the affairs of the Empire. He left no occasion unexploited to tease the Rohillas and to contain their power. When he was granted Wizārat he was admonished that he will keep his hands off the Rohillas and he had made pledges to that effect. But soon after assuming the Wizārat he forgot all his pledges and he entertained the idea of subjugating the Rohilkhand area. He managed to get the Sanad of the governorship of Rohilkhand in favour of his son Qutb al-Dīn Khān, a grandson of Azamat Allāh Khān, a former governor of Murādābād. As soon as Qutb al-Dīn Khān received the royal Sanad he was instigat

by the British to capture the area of the overgrown by force. Qutb al-Din Khān took a force of five hundred men and moved to Rohilkhand. When Hāfiz Rahmat Khān learnt this he corresponded with Qutb al-Din Khān and tried to persuade him through diplomatic efforts to give up the idea of ruling over Rohilkhand and to refrain from trying his fate in the battle field. But Qutb al-Din refused to be persuaded by anyone in this regard. The Rohilla leadership had no other alternative but to face the invader. An expedition was sent under experienced Rohilla leaders like Dūnde Khān, Sayyid Māsūm Shāh, 'Abd al-Sattār Khān, Najīb al-Bawlah and others. The battle was fought on the bank of Ramganga near Murādābād. Qutb al-Din Khān was killed alongwith a number of his comrades. And this put an end to the problem created by the intrigues of Safdar Jang and Qutb al-Din Khān; the prophesy made by Shāh Waliy Allah, thus, came true.

Safdar Jang did not sit quiet; he now tried to create dissensions among the Afghan camp itself. After the death and defeat of Qutb al-Din Khān he got the Sanad issued in favour of Nawab Qā'im Khān, the son of Nawab Muhammad Khān Bangash, the chief of Farrukhābād. By this Safdar Jang designed to cut off a flank of the Afghans in both the cases of Qā'im Khān success or failure. Consequently a serious dissention arose between Qā'im Khān and the Rohillas under Hāfiz Rahmat Khān. It was in this dissention that Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad Shāh played his role in bringing the two parties to negotiations. We have already quoted Shāh Waliy Allah's letter to Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad in which he appreciated the latter efforts. When negotiations failed the Sayyid fought against

15th in Khān, he led a detachment in the avant-garde of the Bonilla
41;
army.

Now we reproduce Shāh Waliy Allah's letter to Tāḡ Muḥammad
Khān Balūch: ".... From the humble Waliy Allah, may ^{he} be forgiven;
may it be known to you after the loving Salām that your delightful
letter containing the (details of the) resurgences of the Jats
received. I hope by the Grace of God that He will disgrace and
annihilate the rebels; you should rest assured. In such a
situation it is incumbent on you to have a league and alliance
with Mūsā Khān and other group of the Muslims. You should effect
an integrity and cooperation with one each eather and should
exert your full force to make the jihād against the enemies. It
is very probable that due to the blessings of Muslims' unity and
their determination God may grant them another victory. God says
in the Glorious Qur'an:

إِنْ تَنْصُرُوا اللَّهَ يَنْصُرْكُمْ

If you will help (the cause of) God, He will ⁴²⁾ ~~help~~ you."

"Today the sole reason for the ascendancy of the infidels
and the Muslims being subdued is that the Muslims bring forth
their flesh desires and make the Hindus influential and inter-
fering in their affairs; such people would never like the
extermination of the Hindus. For-sightedness and tolerance is,
no ^{by} doubt, recommendable but not to such an extent that the
infidels gain upper hand over the country of the Muslims and
take every day ^{by} new city in their hands. This is not the time
of (such kind of) farsightedness and tolerance; this is the
time for trust in God, drawing the swords, preparations of war

and troubling the sense of honour of the Muslims. In view of this, it is most probable that the breeze of victory would come."

"Whatever appears to me is that the war against the Jats is just like a talisman: First it will appear horrible and frightful; but when you concentrate your attention on it trusting on God it will be clear that it was nothing except the appearance of a non-entity."

"I hope you will keep me informed ~~at~~ about what is possible of your conditions and the conditions of your preparation of war. It will help me in making prayers for your protection of victory"⁴³⁾

This letter seems to have been written in early or middle fifties of the eighteenth century. This was the time when the Jat depredations on various Muslim cities and nobles had become the order of the day. By 'those Muslims who have brought forth their flesh desires and made the Hindus influential in their affairs' perhaps Qafdar Jang is meant who instigated the Jats to plunder the capital in May 1752.⁴⁴⁾ It was perhaps after this horrible

atgardi that the Muslims were highly demoralized and took the Jats as formidable like a ghost. Shāh Waliy Allah tries to shake this invincibility of the Jats and says that their horror is only like a talisman.

The twenty-fourth letter of this collection is addressed to Nawab 'Abd al-Kajīd Khān Majd al-Dawlah. He was originally from Kashmir and had settled in Delhi in the sake of royal service. First he joined the service of 'Ināyat Allah Khān and, then, after the latter's death, he joined the court of I'timād al-Dawlah Qamar al-Dīn Khān. It was, perhaps, in 1721 that he joined 'Ināyat Allah Khān's court, because it was in that year (30 January) that he

was appointed Wazir after the death of Qamar al-Din Khān pending the arrival of Ẓiẓā al-Hādī. It is not known when he left Ināyat Allāh Khān's service and joined Qamar al-Din Khān's court. Majd al-Dawlah rose to higher and higher positions. After the invasion of Nādir Shāh he was awarded a mansab of six thousand horse and a permission to keep a standard buggle and a palanquin. ⁴⁵⁾ Emperor Aḥmad Shāh had appointed him to the office of Bakhshi, i.e. the Paymaster General. He died in 1165 A.H./1751 A.D. ⁴⁶⁾

Nawab 'Abd al-Majīd Khān Majd al-Dawla was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Aḥad Khān who also acquire the title of Majd al-Dawlah. 'Abd al-Aḥad Khān also rose to great prominence and exercised ⁴⁷⁾ enviable influence on Emperor Shāh 'Ālam. When Najaf Khān got ascendancy in Delhi 'Abd al-Aḥad Khān was among those Sunni nobles and personalities of note who incurred the wrath of Najaf Khān; he was imprisoned. Mirzā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān, one of the foremost leaders of orthodoxy at that time and a great friend and contemporary of Shāh Waliy Allāh resented his imprisonment. It appears from one of the letters of the Mirzā that Majd al-Dawlah's imprisonment caused much displeasure among the masses. ⁴⁸⁾

Shāh Waliy Allāh's letter to Nawab 'Abd al-Majīd Khān Majd al-Dawlah which we shall presently quote, seems to have been written in 1736-39 i.e. before the invasion of Nādir Shāh. In the last paragraph of this letter he refers to 'that damned, the destroyer of the Timūrid Sultanate' which, perhaps, means Nādir Shāh; because Shāh Waliy Allāh was very critical of Nādir Shāh and always condemned his invasion on India. Some twenty-two years after

"God the Great and the high may keep (you) protected, happy and favoured with His attention. Just now I received your noble letter containing the detailed report of the army and the details of those weak opinions which the people are entertaining. My dear! This much I know that the heavenly kingdom has resolved to overthrow these two communities of Jats and the Marathas. Some people whose courage has been given a say in 'loosing and binding' (حل و عقد) such matters, always feel themselves divinely commanded to pray for the extermination of these two communities. In this (divine) resolution to exterminate and destroy them were not there, there would never have been an ever-increasing excitement and desire in you to exterminate them.

At the arrival of that named, the destroyer of the
 Hictric Sultanate, takes place you rest assured that he will see
 the practical proof of God's Saying ان کیدی متین
50) 51
 (verily, My plan is powerful). You should remain patient about that.

This letter is a clear evidence that Shāh Waliy Allah kept close contact with all those at the helm of affairs in the Empire. He had pin-pointed people of strategic positions and guided them

on every occasion of urgency. It also becomes clear from the
and other letters of this collection that Muslim nobility kept
Shāh Waliy Allah informed of the latest situation in political
and military spheres and sought his guidance and blessings.

The last letter we have to quote here from the first
edition is addressed to one Nawab 'Abd Allah Khān Kashmīrī. He
had asked for Shāh Waliy Allah's advice about his (former's)
settlement in Jats' area:

"I received your esteemed letter; I also know your
preference to me on my advice about (your) stay in the Jat areas.
My dear! a group of men is continuously feeling tempted to pray
(God) for the extermination of these two communities (i.e. Jats
and the ~~Kashathas~~). Beware! Never live among them If you
decide to go to Hajj during these days it will be the best of all
(other alternatives), both in this world and in the Hereafter.
If possible, the emigration from the territory of Kufr (Dār al-
Kufr , is itself obligatory. If you go on Hajj you will, God-will
see many benefits and advantages. These are the days of turmoil
and confusion; why ⁵²⁾ would you expose yourself to danger and fear
during this year?"

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July 1965, pp. 98-100, citing how Shāh Muḥammad 'Ashīd
acquired the copies of some of the letters from Shāh Abū
Sa'īd.
2. Havāt-i-Waliy Allah, Delhi, 1391, p. 290. quoted by
Maḥmūd Ahmad Barakātī, Shāh Waliy Allah Awr Unkā Khāndān,
Lahore, 1976, pp. 123-124.
3. Nizāmi, K.A., in his Introduction to Siyāsī Maktūbāt
pp. 24-25.
4. Al-Rahīm, Vol. III, August, 1965, pp. 221-222, 225.
5. 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Dihlī Awr Uske Aṭrāf, p.66
6. Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmi, Ed., Shāh Waliy Allah Dihlawī ke Siyāsī
Maktūbāt pp. 212 with forewords by Prof. Muḥammad Ḥabīb and
Prof. Shaykh 'Abd al-Rashīd and an Introduction (37 pages)
The letters have also been translated from Persian into Urdu,
useful footnotes have also been given to illustrate various
points of ambiguity.
7. Unfortunately this second edition could not be consulted while
writing this dissertation. I could get this edition only after
the completion of the present work. This edition contains an
Introduction by the editor (44 pages), forty-two letters with
their Urdu translation, notes and appendices. The total pages
are 239.
8. Siyāsī Maktūbāt, p. 58. This letter shows the extent of the
hopes pinned by Shāh Waliy Allah on Najīb al-Dawlah and the
high esteem which the former took the latter.
9. Siyāsī Maktūbāt, p. 60, 5th epistle.

10. The original words are کار در پختون سیده است i.e.
the knife has already reached the bone.
11. Sivāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 61-62.
12. Ibid. p. 89.
13. Sarker, The Fall of the Mughal Empire, vol. I, pp. 480 ff.
- 14 & 15) The original word is ملا عین derived from لعنت which means
curse, execration. But, curiously enough, Nizāmi has
translated it with مخالفین i.e. opponents, Cf. Sivāsi
Maktūbāt, p. 121, 122.
16. Sivāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 63,64, letter to Najīb al-Dawlah.
17. Sivāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 65-66.
18. In original the word حویلی has been used which means
mansions and big and spacious houses. Since a big family
(containing several sub-families) lived in a single Haweli
in those days, and even now in some parts of Pakistan and
India, we have here translated the word Haweli with family
by which we mean a social unit bigger than the usual family
and smaller than a sub-tribe.
19. Sivāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 70-71.
20. Khalīc Ahmad Nizāmi, Sivāsi Maktūbāt, Appendices pp. 195-196.
21. A small town in Uttar Pradesh, India, to which belonged the
well-known Sayyid Brothers, the King-makers during the post-
Alamgir decade.
22. These are two small townships in the District of Muzaffarnagar
where Shāh Waliy Allah's family lived. In Phulat Shāh Waliy
Allah was born in his maternal grandfather's house and to
Budhana belonged Mawlānā Nūrullah Budhānvi, the father-in-law
of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and his son-in-law Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy
Budhānvi, the well-known scholar and Mujāhid of Walliullahism.

20. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, p. 72.
24. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, p. 70.
25. He seems to be one of the Muslim commanders and officers in the battle of Panipat 1761, as appears from the text of the letter and specially last sentence.
26. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, p. 75.
27. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, p. 79.
28. Altāf 'Alī Barelawī Hayāt-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, p. 82.
29. Ibid. pp. 85-86.
30. See Supra
31. }
32. } Authors of these couplets could not be ascertained
33. }
34. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 80-81.
35. Cf. Abu'l Hasan 'Alī Nadawī, Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol I. p. 24.
36. If this is a Hadīth, it has not been reported by major compilers.
37. This is blank in the published edition.
38. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 83-84.
39. Altāf 'Alī Barelawī, Hayāt-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, Karachi 1963. pp. 79 - 80.
40. Hayāt-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, pp. 81 - 83.
41. Ibid. p. 85
42. Qur'an, 48:7
43. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, pp. 85-86.
44. Sūraj Mal, the Jat leader, entered Delhi on 9 May 1752:
Cf. Sarkar, The Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I. pp.480-

46. Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma'āthir al-Umarā' Vol. III, pp. 807-808.
46. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, Appendices, pp. 204-205.
47. Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit. p. 808.
- 48.

حال مردم این شهر از روزی که نجف خان آمده از ش. تا گدا
تباہ است۔ وزیر خلاص مجدد الدولہ ہرزبان خاص و عام است۔
فاضلے تعالیٰ زود بظہور آرد

Kalimāt-i-Jayyibāt, a collection of the letters and
table-talks of Mirzā Mazhar, p. 45.

49. In his letter to Abdālī quoted above.
50. Quran, 7: 183.
51. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, p. 87.
52. Siyāsi Maktūbāt, p. 88.

Socio-political Thought of
Shāh Waliy Allāh.

This is indeed the religio-philosophical thought of Shāh Waliy Allāh in which lies his real greatness. It provides a comprehensive metaphysical-theoretical framework for the entire thinking. But unfortunately it does not come within the purview of this work. Some passing references to his epoch-making contribution in this field have already been made in the present work. Here we confine ourselves to the socio-political thought of Shāh Waliy Allāh which is based on the basic framework of his religio-philosophical thought and is closely linked with a well-knit system of thought. Hence it is very difficult to understand his ideas in an analytical way. His approach to social and political problems is different from modern sociologists and political scientists who see these problems from a non-metaphysical point of view. It is on the basis of this theoretical framework that Shāh Waliy Allāh could make a successful effort to find out the relationship between social, political, economic and even ethical aspect of Islamic thought.

As pointed out earlier Shāh Waliy Allāh expounds his ideas about God and Universe and the creation of Man. Then he discusses death and the life after it. The position of man in the Universe and his relation with its Creator form part of the religio-philosophical thought of Shāh Waliy Allāh while the characteristics of man, his nature and his relations with other members of his species form part of socio-political thought.

Man, according to Shāh Waliy Allāh, is distinguished from other Creatures by his perfect signs' (Āthār Tamam), such as

the faculty of forming a comprehensive opinion about his words and activities, faculty of speech, writing and esprit. Such signs are innumerable and cannot be limited in a number; but these are based on three basic principles.

Firstly, man is moved by his comprehensive opinion (Al-Ray al-Kulliyy). On the other hand, for example, the beast (animals other than man: Bahimah) seems to get furious only to push back the harm and to acquire the benefit and good, but in effect it gets furious for a perceptible or imaginary end. While man sometimes gets furious in order to create a perfect system in the city. Man sometimes takes the troubles in order to realize an objective which has no relation with his bodily appetites. He takes the troubles in ~~xxxxxx~~ doing a work to materialize an object in the Hereafter or to realize a worldly social benefit for the people.

Secondly, it is the Esprit which has the meaning and connotation of aesthetic attitude according to Shāh Waliy Allah. The need of food and shelter is common in man and beast to allay the hunger and to push off the cold. The beast is satisfied if ~~he~~ fulfills these two ends but man is never satisfied with this stage of the realization of his basic ends. He requires them in a aesthetic and most accomplished way. This urge is termed by Shāh Waliy Allah as Zarāfah i.e. Esprit.

Thirdly, the beastly arts and 'sciences' are designed only to meet the economic and subsistence needs while the human sciences are mostly directed towards the attainment of spiritual perfection and psychic accomplishment. These are the three fundamental principles on which all the signs of mankind are based.¹⁾

It is a natural process on which man has been created. If mankind moral excellences and social temptations. Had these excellences not been so deposited no one would have done acts conducive to moral excellences and no one would have felt temptation to following people having these excellences. In such a case no moral excellence would have been established and men would have been categorized with beasts. But instead God had made the intellects of people like mirrors in which ideas and images of each other are reflected and, thus, the process of adopting and learning the manners and decorums based on moral excellences from each other goes on. If a survey is made in this regard it will be revealed that many acts and practices of cultural and civilization importance are communicated through imitation. However, apart from this natural base and motive there should be some outwardly support to keep the people stick to these manners. 2)

Thus, Shāh Waliy Allah provides the basis for the emergence and formation of society. A society after it takes birth passes through four stages until it reaches its perfection. These stages are termed by Shāh Waliy Allah as Irtifāq.

The urges of food and sex are the basic human urges which keep human existence continue on the globe. Food keeps man's body intact while sex urge keeps the human race lasting in the world and regulates the procreation. God has also inspired mankind to build shelter to live in and to defend himself against cold. Men are identical in these needs and have an innate drive to excel in them. For this purpose several ways and means are adopted which include the use of agricultural methods, seeking cooperation from each other, adopting metric and cultured speech, preparation of food

... having one single example of them only one else's share. When society achieves these requirements of social development it acquires the first degree of its perfection, i.e. Al-Irtifāq al-Awwal.

When these requirements are met in a more refined and sophisticated way they need five sciences to usher into the second degree of social perfection. These requirements and the five sciences, embraced together, constitute Al-Irtifāq al-Thāni. The five sciences are:

1. Economic Wisdom (Al-Hikmah al-Ma'āshīyyah).
2. Earning Wisdom (Al-Hikmah al-Iktisābiyyah).
3. Household Wisdom (Al-Hikmah al-Manziliyyah).
4. Business Wisdom (Al-Hikmah al-Ta'āwuniyyah).
5. Cooperative Wisdom (Al-Hikmah al-Ta'āwuniyyah).

The economic wisdom, as enunciated by Shāh Waliy Allah, includes the adoption and utilization of sound and virtuous manner and experimental sciences in eating, drinking, dress, house, sitting, walking, speaking and travelling. When those requirements are met in good manners and in the light of past experience it gives rise to the economic wisdom. The wisdom of earning means that every individual should adopt a distinct and separate art befitting his energies and faculties, such as agriculture, trade etc. The household wisdom includes marriage, procreation, rights of close relatives etc. The business wisdom includes the institutions like sale, gift, renting and hiring, lending, debt and loan, mortgages etc. The cooperative wisdom includes institutions like surety, bail, guarantee, partnerships, agency etc.⁴⁾ It is to be noted that all these five social wisdoms have great bearing on the economic life and activities of a society. This shows the extent of importance Shāh Waliy Allah

gives to the economic aspect of social development. The second Irtifāq is the most important in the perfection of a society; its role is more fundamental. If the second Irtifāq duly achieves its perfection the remaining degrees are easily attainable. If these five wisdoms are practiced in a sound and suitable way they give birth to innumerable forms of cultural and civilizational developments.⁵⁾

When these five wisdoms interact with the moral human excellences they give rise to the third degree of social development. This Irtifāq is mostly based on the cooperation of men in achieving the results of the five wisdoms. Without cooperation these sciences can neither be put into practice nor produce their required results. Cooperation is must because men are not equal. An average group of people includes the fools, the wise, the wealthy, the poor, one who is capable of earning, and the one who is not, one who disdain practising small professions and the one who does not, the one who has several types of business to do and the one who has no job. If these people do not cooperate with each other in realizing their socio-economic objectives their socio-economic life will be shattered. The socio-economic institutions of a developed society are only forms of cooperation. Muṣāṣa'ah, Muqārabah and such other institution are but based on cooperation.⁶⁾

The interaction of the five wisdoms with each other and with the moral excellences and the cooperation of the people with each other will naturally result in a socio-political organization — Madīnah or state. Madīnah is not merely a city; if the citizens of a group of cities and towns have this interaction and cooperation their group will also be termed as Madīnah. Every Madīnah or state

unity which must be preserved in its original and perfect form and its benefits should also be accomplished. The medium through which this perfection can be preserved and accomplished is, in fact, Imām. By Imām, Shāh Waliy Allah does not mean a particular person; Imām can be an individual and a group of individuals can also be Imām.⁷⁾ Thus, Imām seems to be the equivalent of government or the ruling group in Shāh Waliy Allah's terminology. This, however, will be discussed at length later.

The state in reality is not its boundaries, its bazars and its towering premises. The state, in fact, means a special kind of relationship among various groups of men. This relationship is must and it is necessitated by the five principles of the second Irtifāq. When these groups of men cooperate with each other for the realization of five wisdoms and carry on business with each other they become like a single individual having a spiritual entity. This 'incorporated' individual under-goes health and illness due to the outward and inward causes. To cure the state from its illness and to preserve its health there should be a physician of the state who should cure it to the best of his ability. This physician is Imām and his lieutenants. This stage of social development is called the third Irtifāq,⁸⁾ which is, in fact and effect, the first stage of political organization — the state. The first Irtifāq represents the most primitive societies or to be more correct the pre-social human existence. The second Irtifāq represents the pre-political stage of social organization. The third and the fourth Irtifāqs are the stages of the political organizations of the society.

inter-state relations. Muslim Ummah is a political entity. At the time of quarrels or crises and a number of illnesses emerge in the body-politic of the states. Then a physician of physicians (Tabīb al-Aṭibbā') is required to cure these inter-states diseases; he may also be called Imām al-A'imma⁹⁾. At some other places the Imām al-A'imma has been termed as Khalīfah¹⁰⁾. This is the fourth Irtifāq which is in fact an elementary form of international politics. Defining the fourth Irtifāq, Shāh Waliy Allah says, "it is the science (Hikmah) which discusses the policy of the rulers and kings of the states and the ways and means of the preservation of the coordination and relationship existing among the people of various countries"¹¹⁾. This seems to be the social ideal of Shāh Waliy Allah and it is after achieving this stage of socio-political development that the system of Khilāfah can be implemented. After this much background of his social philosophy shall now discuss the political philosophy of Shāh Waliy Allah.

Shāh Waliy Allah has extensively written on ^{politics} ḥukūmat. His works Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah and Al-Budūr al-Bāzighah contain useful and comprehensive discussions on his political ideas. His encyclopaedic work on the history and philosophy of Khilāfah Rāshidah, Izālat al-Khafā' gives thought-provoking ideas about the concept of Khilāfah and its development as the supreme political institution of Muslim polity. Our discussion is mainly based on these three sources.

It has already been pointed out that the need for a political organization is initially felt in a given society in its second

degree towards perfection and a definite political order takes place in the third degree — Al-Irtifā' al-Ṭalīq. Concerning politics (or Siyāsat al-ʿAmdun) Shāh Waliy Allāh says that it is the science which discusses the ways and means to preserve the relationship existing among the citizens of the state and by state he means a community of mutually close people having business among them and living in different houses¹²⁾. From the point of view of its size and population the state is of two kinds according to Shāh Waliy Allāh.

1. The perfect state or al-Madīnah al-Tāmmah and
2. The Imperfect State or al-Madīnah al-Nāqishah.

If a state can produce four thousand warriors in times of emergency and has a sufficient number of peasant, weavers etc, it is a perfect state; by sufficient number Shāh Waliy Allāh means the number which can meet the requirements of the second Irtifā'c. The Imām (leader) of this state shall be a perfect Imām. But a state which is lesser than this one shall be called an imperfect state. It is to be remembered that states are different even in their degrees of perfection.^{12-A)}

A Madīnah or state has a large population. It is not possible for all of them to agree on the preservation of a just conduct. If of them can refute the other without any distinction of office. Thus, it would lead to quarrels on a wide scale. Therefore, Shāh Waliy Allāh maintains, the affairs of the state can never be organized and smoothed unless the majority of Ahl al-Ḥall wa'l-'Aqd agree upon the obedience of certain individual having a group of lieutenants and enjoying power and prestige (Shawkah)¹³⁾ This

individual has been chosen as Shāh Waliy Allah that he is at once a leader and a follower. It seems that Shāh Waliy Allah conceives of a selected king enjoying the confidence of the people of loosing and binding.

The Imām according to Shāh Waliy Allah should possess the Major Seven Virtues; otherwise he will be a burden on the state and the state will be a burden on him and noth¹⁴⁾ will degenerate. These Seven Virtues are Shajā'ah (Brav¹⁵⁾ry), Samānah (magnanimity and tolerance), Hikmah (wisdom), 'Iffah (moral integrity), Fasāhah (eloquence), Diyānah (piety) and al-Samt al-Sālih (Sound manners). The absence of one or more of these virtues will create difficulties in the way of his working. The absence of Shajā'ah will render the ruler incapable of defending the state from outside enemies and internal disturbances. And so are the other virtues.¹⁵⁾ Besides, he should be sound in mind and wise, of major age, free man, male, having perfect faculties of understanding, hearing, seeing and speaking. he should be one whose dignity and respect and that of his family is recognized by the people. And in view of the praise-worthy achievements of his forefathers people¹⁶⁾ know that he will try his best for the betterment of the state. Shāh Waliy Allah says that all these details have been inspired by reasons, and since the people of various geographical, ethnic, cultural and ideological backgrounds have reached to similar conclusions it can easily be concluded that these qualifications¹⁷⁾ a king are based on human reason and Maṣlahah.

Another important thing which Shāh Waliy Allah considers must for a king is the Jāh or dignity and prestige. A king should always try to create the Jāh in the minds and hearts of his people

and should take all possible steps to maintain and preserve it.

The Ḥāḥ, according to Shāh Waliy Allāh, can be achieved by adopting such moral excellences as may endear the king to the subjects. The Ḥāḥ is conducive to love, respect and veneration for the Imām which is the basis of every leadership --perfect or imperfect.

Shāh Waliy Allāh has also extensively dwelt on the associates and lieutenants of the Imām. The Imām cannot execute all his duties himself and in person and he is always in need of a lieutenant ('Awā) to look after an important subject. Thus, several lieutenants will be required to look after different matters. A lieutenant should be just ('Adl) and should execute his duties with full perfection. He should be obedient to the king and should not disobey him in private or in public. If a lieutenant does not fulfil these conditions he deserves dismissal; and if the Imām does not dismiss him it will lead to the disruption of irtifāq -- social progress. Wisdom requires that the Imām should not appoint his lieutenants from those who cannot be easily dismissed. A lieutenant should also not be appointed from amongst the relatives of the King for their dismissal may prove shameful to the King.

Shāh Waliy Allāh considers seven types of lieutenants necessary for the Imām.

1. The Wazīr (or the Prime Minister). He is the supreme authority for all the government functionaries; he is also the responsible for the collection of taxes and their distribution and expenditure.

2. Amīr al-Qizār (or the commander of the warriors). He will raise armies and study their affairs; he will also keep himself informed about their ranks and the details of the salaries.

3. Amīr al-Hirs (or Police Chief). He will look after the wrongs and misdeeds committed by the citizens of the state and will admonish them.

4. The Qādi who will adjudicate the matters between the litigants.

5. Shaykh al-Islām. He shall look after the establishment of the Dīn and the organization of religious guidance. His lieutenants will look after the institution of Amr bi'l Ma'rūf and Nahy'an al-Munkar.

6. Ḥakīm (probably minister of secular education). He will teach (organize the teaching of ?) medicine, literature, astronomy, history, arithmetic and the art of writing. The Imām and the government need these arts and sciences in the running of the state business.

7. Wakīl (or private secretary). He will insure the proper organization and management of the ruler's personal income and expenses because his preoccupations may not allow him to look after his personal economic conditions.
23)

After elaborating the duties and functions of these seven lieutenants of the ruler, Shāh Waliy Allah gives certain advices to the ruler to control his lieutenants. These advices are of more practical and strategic significance than theoretical and philosophical.
24)

These discussions on the Khilāfah or state and the Imām (leader or king) are general and can be applied to any kind of state which may have achieved the third stage of development. These discussions are based on philosophical speculation and no reference occurs in this connection to ~~the~~ Holy Quran or the Sunnah. The Islamic concept of state is international and extra-territorial. It belongs to the fourth and the last Irtifāq because it is the most perfect and mature concept of state and society. The fourth Irtifāq and international polity are identical according to Shāh Waliy Allah.²⁵⁾ And it is only in the course of discussions on the fourth Irtifāq in Hujjat Allah al-Bālighah that we come across reference from the Holy Quran. Does Shāh Waliy Allah mean that the institution of Islamic state or the ~~state~~ Khilāfah can only be realised in a perfect and developed society?

Shāh Waliy Allah discusses the institution of Khilāfah from time different angles: Rational and classical Islamic. When he discusses the concept of Khilāfah in continuation of his theory of socio-political development of a society (Irtifāqāt) he visualises the Khilāfah as an emperor or big potentate. A Khilāfah is required when several kings quarrel each other and are jealous of each other's power. A Khilāfah is one who has acquired such big number of armies and big quantity of communities which render him indomitable and no one is able to snatch his power.²⁶⁾ On some other place Shāh Waliy Allah defines this 'big number' of armies and says that if an Imām has a standing army of twelve thousand men and the state can afford their subsistence th

issue required an Imam to be termed a Khalīfah.²³⁾ In
infant the Khalīfah are also different in power and status. If a
Khalīfah can afford one hundred thousand warriors and the state
is able to pay their salaries he shall be the 'greatest Khalīfah
²⁸⁾
second to none.'

Perhaps it is the superior degree of this 'greatest
Khalīfah or al-Khalīfah al-A'zam who has also been termed as
Khalīfah al-Khulafā'. The concept of Khalīfah al-Khulafā' seems to
be something like the head of a confederation of several states or
of a commonwealth of states. Discussing the need of Khalīfah
²⁴⁾
al-Khulafā', Shāh Waliy Allah says: 'When every Imām becomes
independent and established with his state or group of small
states and he regularly collects taxes and levies and acquires
the services and affiliation of skilled military men who love
their Imām and who are enthusiastic in their support to him,
avarice, greed, grudge and enmity penetrate them. And it leads
to the disputes and wars among the various Imāms. As a result of
these wars innumerable souls are put to death, peaceful life is
gone and every Irtifāq is spoiled. This situation whenever arises
needs to be corrected and the only way to correct it is to
establish a Khalīfah al-Khulafā'. The definition of Khalīfah al-
Khulafā' is that who acquires power, prestige, enthusiastic support
and the affiliation of skilled military manpower to such a high
degree which renders it almost impossible for any other person to
snatch power from him. Even in case some one dares to try that it
would not be possible without a general disorder, great disturbance
spending bulky amounts and having much turmoil. This differs from

in several centuries, the Muslims and the Christians have been at war. In several centuries, the Muslims and the Christians have been at war. In spite of armed conflicts do not agree, neither voluntarily nor under duress, then is is the tragedy which has no cure whatsoever; save if God sends some collossus conqueror supported by the fate and unseen forces and God puts in his heart unceasing and unlimited anger and then the bravest and the most obedient of armies join him. Only this giant can wage war against those disputing potentates and can smash their formidability in the farthest corners of earth. But since this phenomenon does not take place on every time and every occasion, it is incumbent upon the people to cling stubbornly to the Fourth Irtifāc and its sciences! 30)

This was the exposition of Khalīfah on rational and historical basis. The other aspect is classical which Shāh Waliy Allah discusses from purely Islamic point of view. The establishment of a Khalīfah among the Muslims is must according to Shāh Waliy Allah for achieving innumerable objects which can be classified 31) in two categories:

1. The purposes which come within the purview of political science (Siyāsat al-Madīnah) e.g. defence of the country, 32) administration of justice etc. which have been explained earlier.

2. The objects and purposes which come within the purview of the Millah. This is because that the exaltation of the Dīn over the entire genus of the Religion cannot be possible without a Khalīfah who shall look after the enforcement of Islamic teaching and injunctions. We shall presently discuss this second aspect.

independent of any authority, upon the Muslims for all times to come to elect and install a Khalīfah possessing the requisite qualifications and pre-conditions. To support this Shāh Waliy Allāh gives ~~many~~ several arguments that can be summed up here. First of all the collective reason of mankind requires that a Khalīfah should be there to look after the interests which cannot be achieved without a Khalīfah.³³⁾ Secondly, the Khalīfah is appointed for achieving the two categories of purposes and objectives. The Holy Prophet was also sent to achieve these two classes of objectives. Therefore, after the passing away of the Prophet, a Khalīfah or Imām is needed to succeed him and to implement his orders and commandments. That is why the obedience to the Imām is equal to the obedience of the Prophet of God and his disobedience amounts to the disobedience of God. This fact has also been stated in a few Aḥādīth quoted by Shāh Waliy Allāh in this context:

من يطع الأمير فقد أطاعني ومن عصى الأمير فقد عصاني

(Whoever obeys the Amīr (Commander the Faithful) verily he has obeyed me; and whosoever disobeyed the Amīr, verily he disobeyed me.)

إنا الإمام جنة يقاتل من ورائه ويتقى به ، فان أمر بتقوى الله وعدي فان له بذلك أجرا ، وإن قال بغيره فان عليه منه

(The Imām is a shield from the back of which one fights and protects oneself; if the Imām commands to fear God and guides (to the right way) his will be a big Reward for this; if he orders other than this he will bear (the burden) of it.

من رأى من أمر شيئا يكرهه فليغيره بيده فإنه ليس أحد يترك الجماعة
شيئا ثم يموت إلا مات ميتة جاهلية

(Whosoever sees in his Amīr something unpleasant he should take patience; because there is no single person who parts with the community even a single inch and then dies who does not die a Jāhili (anti-Islamic) death.) Commenting on this Ḥadīth Shāh Waliy Allah says that it is the distinction of Islam but that it provides for two categories of objectives for the achievement of which the Khalīfah is the successor of the Holy Prophet; otherwise ³⁴⁾ the system would resemble the Jāhiliyyah.

In Izālat al-Khaḍā' he has also mentioned another Ḥadīth which he considers to be the clear textual commandment (al-Naṣṣ) in this regard. It is this:

من مات وليس في عنقه بيعة مات ميتة جاهلية

(Whosoever dies and there is no allegiance (Bay'ah) in his neck he dies a Jāhili (un-Islamic) death.) Apart from these Aḥādīth, Shāh Waliy Allah maintains, the Ṣaḥābah rushed to the establishment of Khilāfah immediately after the death of the Prophet and deferred even the funeral of the Holy Prophet to the morrow. Moreover, there are matters which cannot be dealt with without the establishment of a Khalīfah: the Jihād, the administration of Justice., the revival of Islamic sciences, the establishment of the pillars of Islam, the defence of Dār al-Islam and such other things which have been collectively enjoined upon the Muslims

³⁵⁾ Ummah. These are the arguments of Shāh Waliy Allah, in a nutshell

the necessity of the institution of Khilāfah.

On the other hand, the classical writers of Muslim history, science and literature, which makes a clear-cut distinction between Khilāfah Ẓāhirah (succession to the Holy Prophet in this-worldly matters) and Khilāfah Bāṭinah (succession to the Holy Prophet in that-worldly or spiritual matters). This distinction is absent in the political discussions of as late a political thinker as even Ibn Khaldūn. Shāh Waliy Allah is, perhaps, the first Muslim political thinker who has so elaborately dwelt upon making a difference between the two Khilāfahs. A passage may profitably be quoted here to acquaint the reader with Shāh Waliy Allah's conception in this regard:

"In the life of the Holy Prophet there is a noble model for all his followers. For those who are his successors in affairs of state there are duties like: the enforcement of Islamic Law; making arrangements for Jihād; the fortification and security of frontiers; granting gifts, sending embassies; the recovery and allocation of Sadakat; taxes and revenues; the adjudication of disputes the protection of orphans; the supervision of Waqf properties of Muslims; the construction of roads, mosques and other buildings and similar affairs. These who are engaged in these services and occupations are successors of the Holy Prophet in worldly affairs.

"The successors in spiritual affairs are these entrusted with the teaching of Islamic Law and Sharī'ah, the Holy Quran, and the traditions, or with enjoining what is lawful and forbidding what is forbidden; those whose words strengthen the true religion,

of the maintenance of universities and the education of the students of the
establishment or through preaching and advice as is done by Muslim
preachers; those who through their company and spiritual guidance
and training serve Islam and Muslims as is the case with the Sufi
saints; or those who arrange for prayers or pilgrimage or guide
the people towards piety. We call all of them spiritual of that-
worldly successors of the Holy Prophet. We shall confine over-
selves here to the this-worldly Khilāfah (Khilāfah-Zāhirah)
leaving the other or that-worldly Khilāfah to form the subject of
another enquiry.

Shāh Waliy Allah defines the Khilāfah in these words:

هي الرئاسة العامة في التصدي لأقامة الدين بإحياء العلوم الدينية
وأقامة أركان الإسلام وإعظام بأجماع وما يتعلق به من ترتيب الجيوش
وإفرض للمقاتلة وإعطاء عم من الفيء والقيام بالقضاء وإقامة الحدود
ورفع النظام والأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر نيابة عن النبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم

(It is general authority exercised on behalf of the Holy Prophet
for the establishment of the Dīn through the revival of religious
sciences, establishment of the pillars of Islam, carrying out the
Jihad and what pertains to it of organizing the armies and paying
the salaries to the soldiers and allocating to them the Fay's
administration of justice, implementation of Hudūd (or capital
punishments), elimination of injustices, enjoining the good and
forbidding the evil.)
(37)

The Khilāfah, according to Shāh Waliy Allah's is establish
in one of four ways:

1. Through the choice, oath or pledge of the people of Meccah and Medina, leaders, army commanders having opinion and well-wish for the Muslims as was established the Khilāfah of Abū Bakr.

2. Through the will of the outgoing or departing Khalīfah as was established the Khilāfah of 'Umar.

3. Through a decision by Shūrā (mutual consultation) of a certain group as was established the Khilāfah of 'Uthmān and even of 'Ali.

4. Through the successful appropriation of power by a man possessing the requisite qualities and qualifications as has been the case with all the Caliphs after Prophetic succession. ³⁸⁾

But it seems that Shāh Waliy Allah does not consider these four ways as watertight compartments; and the method of electing a Khalīfah is not confined to these four. The real and the most important consideration in this regard according to him is the pleasure of the masses with the person concerned as their caliph, their consensus on him and their respect and honour towards him. If he enjoys this much confidence of the masses and establishes the Millah Hudūd, defends the Millah and implements the commandments of Islam he is the Khalīfah in whatever way he might have become Khalīfah. ³⁹⁾

Shāh Waliy Allah has extensively dwelt upon the requisite conditions and qualifications of the person to be elected to the caliphal office. The foremost thing is that the Khalīfah should be a Muslim. Because a non-Muslim cannot do justice to the objectives and ideals of the Khilāfah; and moreover, the Quran unequivocally

declared that 'God shall never grant unbelievers any part

40)

(to supremacy) to the over the Muslims! Suppose if the Khalīfah apostates, his dethronement by force will be incumbent upon the

Muslims according to the teachings of Islam. So how can a non-

41)

Muslim initially be elected as Caliph. Secondly, a Khalīfah

should be in full possession of his mental faculties and the

42)

majority. Because in the absence of mental faculties and the

majority one cannot realize the ideals of the Khalīfah and,

moreover, the idiots and the minors have been prevented by the

Quran from the disposal and management of their own property.

Naturally they cannot be entrusted with the disposal and management

44)

of entire state resources. Thirdly, he should be male. Because

45)

women folk are generally deficient in mental and physical

faculties as compared to men. And also, there is a Hadīth of the

Holy Prophet which goes, 'Never will succeed a nation which has

46)

assigned their affairs to a woman.' Fourthly, he should be a free

47)

man and not a slave. Because a slave is unable to give a legal

evidence in a court and people generally look down upon slaves.

Also a slave is always busy in the service of his master and

he will not be able to discharge the heavy responsibilities of a

48)

caliph. Fifthly, he should be brave, courageous and gallant.

49)

Sixthly, he should be ^{of} sound judgement and opinion having the

50)

qualification and insight to reach the right decision at right

time. Seventhly, he should not be addicted to laziness and leisure

52)

and should not be inexperience. He should have good reputation

53)

about his past experience. Eighthly, he should be 'Adl. By Adl,

Shāh Waliy Allah means one who abstains from Major Sins (Kabā'ir

54)

and does not insist on Minor Sins (Ṣaghā'ir). This condition is

must because the interests of the Millah (al-Maṣāliḥ al-Millīyyah)

cannot be accomplished without it. Ninthly, he should be a scholar⁵⁸⁾ having reached the status of a Muftahid. Because the revival of religious sciences, enjoining the Good and forbidding the Evil cannot be undertaken by a non-Muftahid. It is not, however, necessary that the Khalifah should be an Independent Muftahid. (Muftahid Mustaqill) like Abū Hanīfah and Shāfi⁵⁹⁾. It will be sufficient if he is an Associate Muftahid (Muftahid Muntasib) having the ability to discover the researches of the early doctors of Islam (Salaḥ) and to understand their arguments and conclusions. Tenthly and lastly he should be a Qurayshite by his paternal descent. In this connection Shāh Waliy Allāh refers to the well-known Hadīth ⁵⁰⁾ الأئمة من قریش (The Imāms (leaders, are from Quraysh.) We shall, however, discuss this condition later on.

These conditions would seem at first sight to be too hard and more difficult than necessary. But there is a close and strong relationship between qualification of a functionary and his duties. The bigger and more important duties the bigger and harder the conditions and qualifications. When we see the duties and functions of the Khalifah, says Shāh Waliy Allāh, we see that they are so important and grand that they cannot be duly and perfectly done⁶¹⁾ without the conditions mentioned earlier. A Khalifah cannot revive the religious sciences, establish the pillars of Islam, enjoin the Good, forbid the Evil, organize the Jihād, administer Justice and enforce the Hudūd (capital punishments of Islam)⁶²⁾ without these qualifications.

As regards the qualification of Muftah or Muftahid, Shah Waliy Allah says, a Muftahid 'in our time' is one who has combined in him the following five sciences:

1. The knowledge of the Book of God with letter and content, commentary and interpretation.
2. The knowledge of Ahādīth with an understanding of the chain of narrators, and a distinction between the weak and sound Ahādīth.
3. The knowledge of the opinions of early doctors of Islam on various problems so that he may not transgress the established consensus (Ijmā') of early Muslim scholars and may not be compelled to adopt a third opinion in presence of two already conflicting opinions.
4. The knowledge of Arabic language, grammar, etymology and lexicon.
5. The knowledge of the ways of the deduction of problems and of the ways of effecting a conformity between two outwardly conflicting texts.

After acquiring these five sciences he should have discovered the reason ('illah) of every commandment after thorough ⁶³⁾ ~~through~~ and deep thinking in particular problems.

As regards the condition of Khalīfah's being a Quraishi, Shah Waliy Allah says that this has been added in view of the off-quoted Hadīth mentioned earlier. But it seems that Shah Waliy Allah does not consider it to be a permanent and unchangeable condition. It was only temporary; because the men possessing all these conditions and qualifications belonged only to Quraysh especially soon after the death ⁶⁴⁾ of the Holy Prophet.

In case the office of the Khalifah is assumed by a man who does not combine these qualifications, Shah Waliy Allah recommends that haste should not be made in opposing him. Because his dethronement cannot be ~~made~~^{imagined} without wars and much disturbances. And if wars and disturbances are resorted to there will be more confusion and disorder than the interest ⁶⁵⁾ of the Muslims. In this connection Shah Waliy Allah also quotes a Hadith which runs: 'The Holy Prophet was asked about such (self-appointed rulers) and the question was, "should not we try to overthrow them ?" The Holy Prophet replied, "No! as long as they establish the prayers among you. But if you see the Open Disbelief about which you have the Divine Proof then you ⁶⁶⁾ can overthrow them).

In case the Khalifah becomes an apostate by renouncing one or more of the essentials of Islam then the taking of arms against him is but a must. Because in this case the objectives aimed at by the establishment of Khalifah cannot be realized. And the bad consequences of his apostacy will have to be borne by the people. That is why a wage war against such a person is an act of Jihad in the way of Allah. Here Shah Waliy Allah quotes another Hadith in which the Prophet of Islam said "The listening and obedience (to the leader) is the duty of the Muslim individual in all matters; the individual (personally) liked the leaders or disliked them as long as he is not ordered to do an act of sin; if he is ordered to do sin act of sin then no listening and no ⁶⁷⁾ obedience.

These were the salient features of Shāh Waliy Allāh's political thought. In this connection he also discusses the 'factors of decay and disorder' in a state. After mentioning the social and moral evil that contributed to disorder in a state, Shāh Waliy Allāh establishes the need of the main organs of the State such as Judiciary, police, army, ombudsman, religious instruction etc. These organs, according to him are 68) meant to check the emergence of various social and moral evils.

FOOTNOTES

1. Shāh Waliy Allah, Al-Budūr al-Bāziḡah, pp. 32 - 33.
2. Al-Budūr al-Bāziḡah, pp. 115-116 et seq.
3. Al-Budūr al-Bāziḡah, pp. 61-62.
4. Al-Budūr al-Bāziḡah, pp. 62-63.
5. For fuller discussion on the role of five wisdoms in the social and cultural development, Al-Budūr Al-Bāziḡah pp. 69-90.
6. Al-Budūr al-Bāziḡah, p. 90.
7. Ibid. p. 91
8. Budūr, pp. 63-64
9. Ibid. p. 64.
10. Huḡiat Allah al-Bāliḡah, Vol. I, Cairo, 1322, p. 37.
11. Ibid: هي الحكمة الباشئة عن سياسة حكام المدن
ومملوكها وكيفية حفظ الربط الواقع بين
أهل الأقاليم
12. Huḡiat Allah al-Bāliḡah, Cairo, 1322, Vol. I, p. 34.
هي الحكمة الباشئة عن كيفية حفظ الربط الواقع بين أهل
المدينة وأهل المدينة جامعة متقاربة تجري بينهم المعاملات
ويكون أهل منازل شتى
- 12-A. Al-Budūr al-Bāziḡah, p. 95.
13. Huḡiat Allah al-Bāliḡah, Vol. I. p. 34.
14. Al-Budūr al-Bāziḡah, p. 96 ff.
15. For details, Huḡiat Allah al-Bāliḡah Vol. I, pp. 35-36.
16. Huḡiat Allah al-Bāliḡah, Vol. I. p. 35.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid. Also Budūr, pp. 97-98.
20. Budūr, pp. 96-97.

1. Budūr, pp. 10-11.
22. Huḥiāt Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. I, p. 36;
also Budūr, p. 11.
23. Al-Budūr al-Bālighah, pp. 111-112; see also
Huḥiāt Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. I, p. 36. He seems to be
more clear in Budūr than in Huḥiāt.
24. Budūr, pp. 112-113.
25. Huḥiāt, pp. cit. p. 37.
26. Ibid.
27. Budūr, pp. 95-96.
28. Ibid.
29. It is not a verbatim translation of Shāh Waliy Allāh's
passage; it is only a reproduction of the contents.
30. Budūr, pp. 113-114.
31. These categories have been enunciated by Shāh Waliy Allāh
in Huḥiāt Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. II, p. 110.
32. Cf. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 37; also the present works *supra*.
33. Huḥiāt Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. 2, p. 111.
34. Huḥiāt Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. II, p. 112.
35. Shāh Waliy Allāh, Izālat al-Khafā', (Urdu translation)
Karachi, n.d., Vol I, p. 30.
36. Cf. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, pp. 495-496.
37. Shāh Waliy Allāh, Izālat al-Khafā', Vol I p. 28.
38. Huḥiāt Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. II, p. 111.
39. Huḥiāt Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. II, p. 111.

المهم في الخلافة رضا الناس به واجتماعهم عليه وتوقيدهم
إياه وأن يقيم الحدود ويناضل دون الملة وينفذ الأحكام

40. Qur'an, 4: 1.
41. Izālat al-Khafā', Vol. I, p. 3, also Hujjah
Allah al-Bālighah Vol. II, p. 111.
42. Ibid.
43. Qur'an, 4:5
44. Izālat al-Khafā', Vol. II, p. 30-31; also Hujjah, op. cit.
45. Ibid.
46. Izālah op. cit.
47. Hujjah, op. cit. also, Izālah, op.cit. pp. 30-33.
48. Izālat al-Khafā', Vol. II, pp. 30-33.
49. Ibid; also, Hujjah, op. cit.
50. Ibid.
51. Izālah op. cit.
52. Ibid.
53. Hujjah, op. cit.
54. Izālah, op. cit.
55. Hujjah, op. cit.
56. Ibid.
57. Izālah, op. cit.
58. Ibid.
59. Hujjah, op. cit. ; also Izālah, op. cit.
60. Ibid.
61. Izālat al-Khafā', Vol. I, p. 30.
62. Ibid.
63. Izālat al-Khafā', Vol. p. 132

64. Huṣṣat Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. 11, p. 111.
65. Huṣṣat Allāh al-Bālighah, Vol. 11, pp. 111-112.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid. p. 112.
68. Budūr, pp. 92-94, 101-103.

PART THREE

SHAH WALIY ALLAH'S IMPACT ON LATER
MOVEMENTS

SHAH WALIY ALLAH'S INFLUENCE UPON

THE SINDH MOVEMENT

The revivalist zeal and vigour of the Kujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thāni, Shaykh Ahmad Sarhandi, and the clarity of thought and vision of Shah Waliy Allah and his family combined in the vigorous Islamic revivalist movement conceived of and planned jointly by Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and launched by the latter alongwith his close associates, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Mawlānā Muhammad Ismā'il Shahid. This was the first-ever popular revolutionary movement in the history of the Muslim sub-continent. It was the fullest manifestation of the long academic and missionary work done by Shah Waliy Allah, and his descendants and disciples. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was the first who used the technique of winning the support of the masses for his programme and created a political (and military) organization for its furtherance and execution. He was the first popular political leader in the sub-continent.¹⁾ He belonged to a family of the Sayyids which had a long tradition of piety, scholarship and missionary work. The family enjoyed a popular respect and affection in all ages. One of its ancestors, Shah 'Ilm Allah was a disciple and associate of Sayyid Muhammad 'Adam Binnori, a successor of the Mujaddid.²⁾

In middle eighteenth century the family developed close relations with Shah Waliy Allah for the sake of knowledge and scholarship and in search of mystic accomplishment. Several members of the family successively joined Shah Waliy Allah's circle. Shah Muhammad Wadih, Shah Abū Sa'id, Sayyid Muhammad Mu'in and Sayyid Muhammad Nu'mān are among the close disciples and students of Shah Waliy Allah.³⁾ Of these, Shah Abū Sa'id has been mentioned

earlier. His main center of activity, Dā'irat al-³⁾ 'Ilm wa 'Izzah, was a nucleus of Shāh Waliy Allah's movement. Following the footprints of Shāh Waliy Allah, Shāh Abū Sa'īd had also established close relations with some of the most influential Muslim potentates of his time. Haider 'Ali of Mysore was one of them; he was a devoted disciple of Shāh Abū Sa'īd and it is said that he used to present costly gifts to the latter very often.⁴⁾ It seems that after the death of Haider 'Ali, his brilliant and celebrated son, Tipū Sultān, kept relations with Shāh Abū Sa'īd.⁵⁾ To what extent the jihād activities of Tipū Sultān were motivated by Shāh Abū Sa'īd's and through him of Shāh Waliy Allah's influence is very difficult to determine.

After Shāh Waliy Allah, his sons and successors continued relations and correspondence with Shāh Abū Sa'īd's family. Sayyid Quṭb al-Hudā, Sayyid Muḥammad Ishāq and Sayyid Aḥmad himself were among the noted disciples of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz.⁶⁾ Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's letters to Shāh Abū Sa'īd form a valuable source of information about the political, religious and spiritual life of India at that time. The former frequently wrote to the latter about the political situation in India. Once he wrote:

این حالت عجیب است ، به بسبب غلبه کفار سکود بر صحنه و جث بر بلاد مسلمین
و تنبیه امواج ایشان و اشتباک حریمات آن در و جان آسائش را فراموش نموده ،
و چنانچه فقیر مع قبایل به برادر (آ) د انتقال نموده است - و تمام بیان در جواب
زیر و زبر به نقل این بدگیشان شد - (71)

Some of the letters written by Shāh Abū Sa'īd to the celebrities of Shāh Waliy Allah's family have been published in the well-known collection, *Kalimat-i-Jayyibat*.⁸⁾ Another collection was prepared by one Mawlana Sayyid Abū'l Qāsim Haṣwī; this

collection, entitled, Ma'ārif al-Ma'ārif, contains the correspondence between Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and the members of Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir's family. Some of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's letters have, however, been published in various journals of India and Pakistan. These were originally collected and edited by Sayyid Abu'l Qāsim Haswi under the title Maktūbāt al-Ma'ārif.

Sayyid Ahmad's elder brother, Sayyid Ishāq, was among the favourite students of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir. He specialized in Tafsīr. He had so much interest in this science that even in that age of the scarcity and dearth of books he had in his personal collection some two hundred books on Tafsīr only.

These centuries old relations between these two families and the combination of their traditions were to reach their climax in the person of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd. He was born on 6 Rabi' al-Thani 1201 A.H./20 November 1786 in Dā'irah Shāh 'Ilm Allah near Rai Bareilly. After getting some elementary education in his native town he suddenly developed an urge to go to Delhi and join the Madrasah of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1218 A.H./1803 A.D. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz received the young Sayyid with cordiality and entrusted his education and training to his younger brother, Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir who taught him Holy Quran with special care. After getting education at the hands of Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir, he was initiated by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz in the mystic ways. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz gave him permission to initiate the people in three major sufi orders prevalent in the sub-continent. The Sayyid objected to some of the practices of the mystics and declined to adopt them because he considered them to be inconsistent with the pure and orthodox Islamic teachings. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz encouraged him in this attitude and allowed him to exclude such experiences from his

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mystic ideology and practice.

In the year 1227 A.H./1812 he went to join the court and army of Nawab Amīr Khān, the Pathan ruler of the state of Tonk who originally belonged to Rohilkhand area. Several reasons¹⁸⁾ have been suggested as to what prompted him to seek service under Amīr Khān. What is supported by overwhelming circumstantial evidence is that his sole purpose was to two-fold. First to get a practical training and experience in warfare, diplomacy and state-craft.¹⁹⁾ Secondly he wanted to persuade Amīr Khān to take up the task of launching an organized jihad campaign against the rising tide of the English imperialism.²⁰⁾ He remained with the Nawab for about seven years. The political and military situation was so odd in the sub-continent in those days that it was very difficult for a man like Amīr Khān to accurately assess the entire drama and take some drastic action. He was not willing to open long and pre-determined hostilities with the English forces. Instead, he preferred to reach a peace agreement with the English after some vicissitudes in battle-fields of arms and diplomacy.²¹⁾ Now the Sayyid deemed it useless to remain any more with the Nawab; he informed his master Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz of his intention of leaving the Nawab's camp and came back to Delhi²³⁾ in May 1818.

In Delhi Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz welcomed him with greater cordiality and deeper affection. He also enquired from the Sayyid about the details of the developments in central India and Amīr Khān's role in the politics of that area. He also advised many of his disciples and seekers of spiritual perfection to resort to the Sayyid who had become by now an acclaimed mystic guide. At that time he was about 32 or 33 years of age; in this²⁵⁾

comparatively small age he had reached a very high stage of spiritual perfection and mystic training on the one hand and had got a deep insight in the ideals and realities of Islam and the requirement of Sharī'ah on the other. Both these aspects are evident from the collection of his discourses, Al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm, which was compiled by Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shahīd ²⁶⁾ in 1233 / 1818 in Delhi. This was coupled with his political, diplomatic and military insight gained during seven year sojourn in Amīr Khān's camp. Thus, the revivalist zeal of the Mujaddide and the comprehensive character of thinking of Shāh Waliy Allah combined in the person of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd who inherited these qualities through Shāh 'Ilm Allah, the disciple of Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusām Binnori and through his grandfather Sayyid Abū Sa'īd, the disciple and associate of Shāh Waliy Allah.

After his coming to Delhi the Sayyid started his historic career. Great personalities of Muslim India joined his circle. Soon he travelled through the Doab and Rohilkhand preaching the jihād and the need for an over-all Islamic revivalism. Although this tour of his was out-wardly an ordinary tour of a Sufi Shaykh but he took care in sowing the seeds of the first-ever popular Islamic revivalism movement in the sub-continent. He used to do physical exercises and carry on other military exercises as well such as archery, riding etc., he would also advice his disciple to do these exercises. A usual visitor ^o was always astonished to see this curious phenomenon ⁿ unprecedented in mystic circles. Whenever some visitor objected to this the Sayyid not only explained this aspect of his movement in detail but also advocated the need ²⁷⁾ of jihād.

After having a series of very successful tours in the northern parts of India, Sayyid Ahmad decided to perform the Hajj. To perform the Hajj and to pass some days and nights in the vicinity of the House of God and in the Prophet's mosque. The journey to the Haramayn has been very charming specially to all the revivalists. This spiritual and physical endeavors always gives a fresh vigour and force to the workers for the cause of Islam. In India specially it had a unique and tremendous significance. Some of the Indian Ulama had expressed their opinion in favour of the suspension of Hajj for the Indian Muslims, presumably in view of the rise of western naval powers and the downfall of Muslim navy. ²⁹⁾ Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and Sayyid Ahmad Shāhid took pains in refuting such baseless assertions. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote letters to the dignitaries refuting the assertions ³⁰⁾ about the suspension of the Hajj. His two celebrated grandsons, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl also wrote lengthy memoranda and notes in this regard. The Sayyid himself wrote letters throughout India declaring his intention to go to Hajj. He also issued a general appeal to the Muslims in general and to his adherents in particular to join him in this sacred ³¹⁾ journey. Several hundred pilgrims joined him in his journey towards Arabia. He chose the long way from Rai Bareilly to Calcutta to seek the opportunity of spreading his message in the area on route to ~~Makatta~~ Calcutta.

In Calcutta he was contacted by the sons of Tipū Sultān who wished to see him and said that Sayyid Abū Sa'īd and Sayyid Abū'l Layth were the religious preceptors of Tipū Sultān's House

and in case the Sayyid had any relationship with them the princes would be much pleased and feel much honoured to receive the Sayyid. The Sayyid informed them that Sayyid Abū Sa'īd was his real maternal grandfather and Sayyid Abū'l Layth was his real maternal uncle. The princes consequently invited the Sayyid to a banquet. He went to the princes residence along with Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shahīd and many others. The princes made allegiance to the Sayyid and requested him to initiate them in mystic experience. The eldest prince was under the influence of an atheist philosopher, 'Abd al-Rahīm and was himself also inclined towards atheism. A few days later he also invited the Sayyid to a banquet and wished to discuss with him on philosophical and scholastic problems. The Sayyid soon impressed him by his simple and sincere talk and he was moved to have allegiance to the Sayyid. His conversion from atheism to Islam was highly appreciated and warmly welcomed by the ladies and princesses of the house and they thanked the Sayyid for his persuasion. The ladies also had E- 'ah and the atheist philosopher
32) was prevented from coming again.

Sayyid Ahmad stayed more than one year in Arabia, performed the Hajj and contacted with the personalities coming to Arabia
33) from all parts of the Muslim world. While he was in Arabia, Shāh 'Abd al-ʿAzīz declined to initiate people in mystic experience; he would ask those interested in mystic exercises to wait till his disciple Sayyid Ahmad return from Hajj so that he would initiate
34) people in mystic practices.

After his return from the Hajj, he stayed for about two years (from Ramaḡān 1239 to Jumāda-al-Ākhirah 1241) in his hometown, Rai Bareilly. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz had already passed away while he was in Arabia. Now the entire responsibility of initiating the movement lay on the Sayyid's shoulders. He started preparations for the Jihād and wrote letters and memoranda to Muslim elites of the sub-continent informing them of his intention of launching a full-fledged jihād movement. Two most distinguished scholars of Muslim India and members of Shāh Waliy Allah's family had already joined his circle. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl satisfied themselves by taking a successful test of the Sayyid's spiritual stature and attached themselves to the personality of their great Master and Guide.³⁵⁾ Their devotion and allegiance to the Sayyid prompted several other members of Shāh Waliy Allah's family to follow suit.³⁶⁾

These two scholars were the first-rate scholars of Muslim India. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz himself calls them with the high titles and epithets of Shaykh al-Islām, Hujjat al-Islām, Tāj al-Mufasssirīn, Fakhr al-Muḥaddithīn, Sar'ūd-i-'Ulamā'-i-Muḥaqqiqīn (i.e. the leader of the deep and sound scholars). He writes about them to one of his disciples, "these gentlemen are not second to in Tafīr, Hadīth, Fiqh, Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Logic etc. You should reckon them among the most pious ulema and present before them whatever problems you face."³⁷⁾ The great poet-philosopher of Muslim India, Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl (d. 1938) was also full of praise for Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shahīd. He said, "even if a single Mawlawī (religious scholar) of the calibre of Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl was born after Shahīd, Mawlawī him the Muslims of India would not lived

in such a miserable and pitiable condition as they find today? Another noted scholar of Shāh Waliy Allah's family whose association with the movement contributed to its popularity and credibility among the masses was Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf Phulati.^{38-A}

There is no denying the fact that the Jihād movement was based on the Fatwā issued by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz regarding the change in the legal status of the sub-continent. The Jihād was to be launched against the English forces and the campaign against the sikhs was only a temporary and strategic move.³⁹⁾ This Fatwā of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was further supported by a subsequent Fatwā of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy. He declared that the entire Christian dominions of India from Calcutta to Delhi including the proper India and its attached states (Mamālik-i-Mulḥaqah) were Dār-al-Ḥarb because infidelity and polytheism had gained currency every where and no care of the laws of our Sharī'ah was taken.⁴⁰⁾

It has already been discussed at length in a previous chapter⁽⁴¹⁾ that Shāh Waliy Allah repeatedly pointed out three main forces which were at work against Islam in the sub-continent in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He also persuaded the Muslim leaders, potentates and military men to suppress them as early as possible. These three forces were, 1. Marathas 2. Jats and 3. the Sikhs. Especially in his letters to Abdālī, Najīb al-Dawlah and Nawab Majd al-Dawlah he has repeatedly requested these leaders to take these anti-Muslim forces very seriously. The Jats and the Marthas^a were considerably beaten by Aḥmed Shāh Abdālī during the life time of Shāh Waliy Allah who lived to witness the defeat of these two forces according to his own wishes and aspirations. The Sikhs had not yet been dealt with and had by now gained much rise

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and strength in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier. They had adopted a policy of horrible persecution of the Muslims in Punjab. They destroyed Muslim townships and mosques and massacred thousands of Muslims. An eye witness, Qāḍī Mūr Muḥammad describes the ruin of Sarhand in these words, "The whole city lay in ruins; no man not even a bird except the owl was to be seen there though I roamed about a great deal in the city. The shops and Bazaars⁴²⁾ were there but the shopkeepers had left for the world beyond." The Shī'ah writer and historian Ghulām Hussain Jabātābā' has given⁴³⁾ many details of the Sikh persecution of the Muslims. The news of these cruelties regularly reached other parts of the sub-continent. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was one of those who painfully reacted to this state of affairs. He wrote letters to Muslim elites to draw their attention to this dreadful situation. He also composed a long Arabic poem in which he described in details Sikh persecution of the Muslims. This poem was sent by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz to his uncle⁴⁴⁾ Shāh Aḥl Allah, brother of Shāh 'Alīy Allah.

Before embarking upon the Jihād and the Hijrah, Sayyid Ahmad Shāhid sent a deputation with Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl at the head to Punjab. The Mawlānā extensively toured Punjab and gave an intensive report to the Sayyid about the latest situation in that province. This report made the things clear. Now the top-priority was to be given to deal with the Sikh menace which aimed at physically wiping out the Muslim from the Punjab. The venue of the Jihād and the headquarter of the movement was chosen to be the north-west frontier region which is inhabited by the martial pathan tribes. The pathans and orthodox the Afghans had been

in the revival of all religious and political virtues since the days of the Mujāhidīn. The area was surrounded by an ever-whelming Muslim population of central Asia and Afghanistan. After forming the strategy the Sayyid established the military organization of the Mujāhidīn while still in Rai Bareilly. He divided the Mujāhidīn into groups and divisions. The main army (of the Jamā'at-i-Khaṣṣ) was headed by Mawlānā Muḥammad Yūsuf Phulati, the grandson of Shāh Aḥl Allah, the ~~Mawlānā~~ brother of Shāh Waliy Allah. Sayyid Aḥmad himself was also in its army. The advance-guard was headed by Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl. Apart from this, the Sayyid appointed his representatives and deputies throughout India. They were entrusted with the furtherance of the movement in the main land of the sub-continent after their Hijra and the supply of funds and volunteers. Even after Hijrah, various representatives were sent from the frontier. Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī Rāmpūrī was sent to Hyderabad Decca, Mawlānā 'Ināyat 'Alī 'Azīmābād was sent to Bengal and many other people were sent to different places on different missions.

When all the preliminary arrangements were made, the Sayyid left his hometown Rai Bareilly for good along with five hundred other Mujāhidīn on 17 January 1826. He reached in the vicinity of Nawshehra after ²long and toilsome journey through the desert of Rājputāna, Sind, Baluchistan, Gandhar, Kabul and Peshawar. He entered in Nawshehra on 18th Jumāda al-Ūlā 1242 A.H. 18 December 1826 A.D. After making necessary arrangements for the lodging of the Mujāhidīn and taking the Bay'ah of allegiance from some important local chiefs, Sayyid sent a notice to the Sikh regime in Lahore. This notice contained the three tradition

alternatives of Islam, Jizyah or the sword. ⁴⁸⁾ About a month later a Sikh army advanced against the Mujaḥhidīn and the first battle was fought near Akorah on 21 February 1827. The Mujaḥhidīn won the battle which succeeded by successive victories of the Mujaḥhidīn in several battles. Many influential local leaders and tribal Chiefs joined his movement. In 1830 he entered Peshawar triumphantly and the limits of his small Islamic state were considerably expanded.

Earlier, on 12 Jumāda al-Ākhirah 1242/10 January 1827 a formal Islamic government was formed and Sayyid Ahmad was elected as its Amīr. Qādis and Muḥtasibs were appointed according to the classical Islamic practice and the laws of Sharī'ah were promulgated. ⁴⁹⁾ Next day, i.e. on Friday, 13 Jumāda al-Ākhirah, the name of the Sayyid was recited in the Khutbah as Amīr al-Mūminīn, or ⁵⁰⁾ the commander of the Faithful. The Sayyid wrote memoranda to all the notable chiefs of the area informing them about his election and proclamation as the Amīr al-Mūminīn. ⁵¹⁾ But it is unfortunate that this Islamic State was very short-lived. Soon the local chiefs of Peshawar revolted against the Sayyid and they massacred ⁵²⁾ his officials throughout the valley of Peshawar.

This tragic incident of treachery greatly disappointed the Sayyid. He decided to migrate from the area of the treachers. He informed his representatives in India and elsewhere about his intension of Hijrah. He had chosen to go to Kashmir where he had a good following and respect. On his way to Muzaḥfarābād he learned that a large Sikh army was approaching to prevent the Sayyid from reaching Muzaḥfarābād. To meet this army the Sayyid decided to stay at Balakot which was strategically suitable for a battle.

On 24 Shah Waliullah died on 10 May 1831 the battle took place between the handful of Hujjahid and the overwhelming Sikh army. The Hujjahid fought a good battle but the Sikh armies so stormed them that they could not repulse the Sikh tide. The Sayyid himself and Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il were among those many who laid their lives for the noble cause and thus an important chapter of the history of Islamic revivalism in the sub-continent was closed.

The impact of Shah Waliullah's thought and traditions upon the jihad movement is so conspicuous that some writers tend to consider the jihad movement a supplement of Shah Waliullah's work. A contemporary writer finds the same spirit and style of Shah Waliullah running through every page of the writings of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il Shahid.⁵³⁾ According to him the great personalities of the Sayyid and Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il were 'complimentary to the revivalist work of Shah Waliullah.⁵⁴⁾ Some other scholars also have held the jihad movement to be a phase of Shah Waliullah's movement.⁵⁵⁾

We would like here to trace the role of Shah Waliullah's descendants, disciples and disciple's disciples in the advancement of the jihad movement. The Role of Shah Abd al-Aziz, Mawlana Abd al-Hayy and Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il Shahid has already been pointed out- Shah Abd al-Aziz's successor, Shah Muhammad Ishaq and his younger brother Shah Muhammad Ya'qub worked as the chief representative of the movement in India. The Sayyid regularly wrote to them about the supply of funds of which they were responsible here. These letters were usually in Arabic in a code

1210-1220 and without giving names of the writer or the addressee. These were sent by special envoys. Once Shāh Muḥammad Ya'qūb wished to join the Muḥāhidīn and migrate to Hind⁵⁷⁾ but this wish could not be materialized.

~~When~~ One Mawlawi Sayyid Maḥbūb 'Alī deserted the Sayyid along with his group. His desertion would have demoralized the workers in India if Shāh Ishāq and Shāh Ya'qūb had not defended the movement from Mawlawi Maḥbūb's harsh criticisms.⁵⁸⁾

Apart from the descendants of Shāh Waliy Allah, there was a large number of Ulema working in the Jihād movement and who belonged to Shāh Waliy Allah's tradition and graduated from ~~the~~ his Madrasah Raḥīmiyyah. Here we mention some of the graduates of Madrasah Raḥīmiyyah whose role in the Jihād movement was specially conspicuous.

Mawlawi Awlād-i-Hasan (or 'Al-i-Hasan) Panūji (1210/1795-1253-1537) was among the foremost scholars of Madrasah Raḥīmiyyah whose services in the advancement of the jihād movement had great impact in several fields. He got his education in Lucknow at the hands of Mirzā 'Alī Muḥaddith, the well-known disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. Then he came in Delhi and completed his advance studies in Madrasah Raḥīmiyyah where his teachers were Shāh Raḥī 'al-Dīn, Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. His main subjects of study in Madrasah Raḥīmiyyah were Hadīth, Tafsīr and Fiqh. Then he did Bay'ah to Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and accompanied him in the Hijrah and early phases of Jihād. The Sayyid sent him back to India to do missionary work. He passed his entire life in missionary activities. He also authored a number of books in Arabic, Urdu and

mission. He mainly wrote on the revival of the holy Prophet's sunnah and the suppression of innovations (Bid'at). From time to time he also wrote letters to Sayyid Ahmad Shahid informing him about his activities in India. His celebrated son Nawab Siddi Hasan Khān, married the princess of Bhopal and rose to great eminence and prestige.⁵⁹⁾

Another Mujāhid-scholar of the jinhād movement was Mawlānā Khurram Ali Balhori; he was with the Sayyid in Hijrah and the Jihād and then he was sent back to India for missionary work. Mawlānā Khurram Ali was a great scholar. He authored several books which left a deep impact on Muslim society. He translated the well-known collection of Hadīth, al-Saghāni's Kashāriq al-Anwār, into Urdu which became very popular and proved very effective in popularizing the knowledge of Hadīth among the masses.⁶⁰⁾ He also translated the famous compendium of Hanafi Fiqh, Al-Durr al-Mukhtār into Urdu. But his most popular and most effective work was his long poem on Jihād which was, in fact, an anthem of the Mujāhidīn: this poem is full with vigour and enthusiasm.⁶¹⁾

The scholars produced by Madrasah Rahīmiyyah defended the Jihād movement on academic and scholastic front as well. When some of the scholars launched a campaign against Mawlānā Muhammad Ismā'īl Shahid on the ground of some minor theological differences it were the graduates of Madrasah Rahīmiyyah who came forward and defended the Mawlānā and the movement. A pupil of Shah Muhammad Ishāq, Mawlāwī Sirāj al-Dīn Ahmad (1231 A.H/1885 A.H - 1862 A.D) wrote a book, Sirāṭ al-Imān, in defence of Mawlānā Muhammad Ismā'īl Shahid's Iqtiyāt al-Imān.⁶²⁾ Another scholar, Mawlāwī Amīr Ahmad Naqvi Sehsawani, son of Mawlāwī Amīr Hasan was also very

of the movement of the Revival of the Sunnah movement. The first book written by Shaykh al-Islām al-Dīn Badā'ūnī (63) in which he refuted the allegations of Mawlānā Faḍl-i-Haqq Ḥayrābādī against Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl.

The scholars associated with the jihād movement produced a bulky literature on the revival of Sunnah. Only Mawlānā Karāmat Ḥilālī, who was Sayyid's deputy in Bengal wrote about 50 books on such issues. Apart from scholars mentioned in foregoing paragraphs Mawlāwī Saḥāwat 'Alī, Mawlāwī Milāyat 'Alī, Mawlāwī 'Ināyat 'Alī, Mawlāwī Muḥammad 'Imrān, Muḥammad Sa'ad al-Dīn Badā'ūnī, Mullā Niẓām, Mawlāwī Sulṭān Khān Shāhjahānpūrī, Mawlāwī 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn and several others contributed to this sacred movement of the decimation of the Sunnah.

The Jihād movement also worked among the non-Muslims. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Aḥad reports that more than forty thousand Hindus and other non-Muslims embraced Islam at the hands of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd. (65) Among the Muslims it was able to attract as such as three million Muslim who did Bay'ah to Sayyid Ahmad. Where the Sayyid could not directly take the Bay'ah the scholars attached to his movement took such Bay'ah. It is reported that some of such scholars had attracted as much as eighty thousand adherents who participated in the jihād in one way or the other. (66)

The movement launched by Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd did not close with the death of the Sayyid. It continued afterwards for more than a century. For the history of the Mujāhidīn after the tragedy of Bālākot one should consult books like Mehr's Sarguzasht-i-Mujāhidīn Mas'ūd 'Ālam Nadawī's Hindustān Ki Pahlī Islāmī Tahrik etc.

Why no mention of the Revival of the Sunnah?

FOOTNOTES

1. A History of the Muslim Movement, Vol. I, p. 100.
2. Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Nadawi, Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol. I, Karachi, 1975 p. 69 - 70.
3. Ibid. p. 79.
4. Muhammad Miyan Dhlawi, 'Ulamā-i-Hind kā Shāndār Kādī, Vol II, Delhi, 1957 p. 77.
5. Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Nadawi Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol. I p. 262.
6. Ibid. p. 79.
7. Haswi, Ma'āthir al-Abrār, quoted in Nadawi, Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd Vol I, p. 54.
8. This collection ~~contains~~ contains mainly the letters of Mirzā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān and his table talks; the letters of some other celebrities have also been included. It was printed in Mujaṭṭabā'i Press, Delhi, n.d.
9. This collection has not yet been published, cf. Nadawi, op. cit. p. 31; also Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol I, p. 80.
10. Cf. for example, Al-Rahīm, Hyderabad.
11. This collection was published in Matla' al-Anwār Press, Saharanpur, 1304 A.H.
12. For dearth of books, see Supra, 2,
13. Mehr, op. cit. p. 54.
14. For early career of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol. I, 2, ; Nadawi, Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol. I pp. 86 - 103; Thanasari, Hayāt-i-Sayyid

- History of the Muslim Community in India
Vol. I, pp. 556 - 561 ff.
15. Nadawi, op. cit. p. 95.
 16. Nadawi, op. cit. p. 101.
 17. Ibid. pp. 96 - 100.
 18. Nadawi, Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, op. cit. pp. 106-107.
 19. Ibid. p. 106.
 20. For a fuller discussion on this point, Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, Vol I pp. ; Nadawi, Ibid. pp. 104-117
 21. Nadawi, op. cit. pp. 113-115.
 22. Ibid. pp. 115-116.
 23. Ibid. pp. 116 - 117
 24. Ibid. pp. 119 - 120
 25. Nadawi, op. cit. pp. 119 - 120
 26. The book has also been translated in Urdu and has been published several times in India and Pakistan. The celebrated disciple of Shah Abd al-Aziz and one of the greatest scholars of Muslim India of his time, Mufti Iqbal Bakhsh, had also prepared an abridged edition of it entitled Muhammat-i-Ahmediyyah. Cf. Iqbal al-Hasan Kandhlawi, Maqalat-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Kāndhlāwī, Delhi, 1383 A.H. pp. 93-94
 27. E.g. Shurāh Rasūl Mehr, Jamā'at-i-Muhammadīn, pp. 10-19
 28. For the details and impact of these four, Nadawi, op. cit. pp. 126-143, 144-146, 149, 155, 156-182.
 29. Ibid. pp. 200-ff.
 30. Ibid. pp. 201-203
 31. Nadawi, op. cit. p. 204, quoting Maqā'id-i-Ahmedi, pp. 561-62

32. Ibid. pp. 201 - 202.
33. Ibid. pp. 201 - 202.
34. Mahr, Jamā'at-i-Muḥāhidīn, p. 180.
35. The details of this 'test' have been told by Ḥawṣā' al-Ḥayy himself to Ḥawṣā' Karāmat 'Alī Jawānpūrī; see ~~Ḥawṣā'~~ Karāmat 'Alī Jawānpūrī, Nūrun 'Alā Mūr, printed in 'Aḥṣā' al-Matābi' Jawānpūr. pp. 66-73, reproduced in Kadawī, op. cit. pp. 121-125.
36. Ibid. p. 125.
37. Ibid. pp. 120-121.
38. Quoted in Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Mīr Siyāl-Kotī, Tarīkh-i-Ahl-i-Shadīth. Lahore, 1953, p. 422. *Original in Iqbal.*
39. For biographical notes on Ḥawṣā' al-Ḥayy, Ḥawṣā' Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shāhid and Ḥawṣā' Muḥammad Yūsuf Phulātī, see Mahr, Jamā'at-i-Muḥāhidīn, pp. 111-118, 119-132, 143-146 respectively.
40. This is an established fact which has been proved by overwhelming evidence. See for example Kadawī, op. cit. pp. 317-320, 329-334; Mahr, Sayyid Ahmad Shāhid, Vol. I, pp. 11-16; idem, Jamā'at-i-Muḥāhidīn. pp. 11-16; Muḥammad Miyyān Dīnlawī, 'Ulamā'-i-Hindī Kā Shāhīdī Nāma, Vol. II, p. 4 f.n.
41. Cited in Ḥusayn Ahmad Madani, Naqsh-i-Hayāt Vol II p. 4, f.n.
42. See Supra, Chapter on 'The Political Letters of Shāh Waliyullah: A Critical Review.
43. Quoted by the Sikh writer Ganda Singh, Ahmad Shah Durrani p. 302.

43. [unclear], [unclear] - [unclear] [unclear], [unclear] [unclear], [unclear] [unclear], [unclear] [unclear], [unclear] [unclear] - [unclear] [unclear].
44. Abstract reproduced with Urdu translation in Muhammad Ilyas Farani, Bar-i-Munir Aur Muslim Samiyyat ke Tasawwur ka Itiqā, Karachi, 1967, pp. 60-62.
45. Shurrah Nasul Mahr, Jama'at-i-Muhammadīn, pp. 23 ff.
46. Ibid. p. 21
47. Ibid. p. 22, 58 - 61.
48. Nadawi, op. cit. pp. 396 - 397.
49. Ibid. p. 411.
50. Nadawi, op. cit. p. 411
51. For some of these memoranda, Makātib-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Lahore, 1975, pp. 18A, AA, 26B, 27B, the reference can be multiplied, also Nadawi, op. cit. pp. 411-424,
52. Nadawi, op. cit. Vol II, pp. 331-345.
53. Sayyid, A Short History of the Revivalist Movements in Islam, Lahore, 1963, p. 100
54. Ibid. p. 101
55. For instance see, I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, Karachi, 1974, pp. 147-148 and passims; also 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Shah Waliyullah Aur Unki Sirat-e-Ibrahī, Lahore.
56. Ibid., Jama'at-i-Muhammadīn, pp. 53- 56.
57. Ibid. p. 151.
58. Barakatī, p. 172.
59. For fuller details see the following sources:
 - a) Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Abjad al-Ulūm, pp. 935-936.
 - b) Idem, Ithāf al-Nubalā' pp. 235-238.
 - c) Mehr, Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, p. 429-431.
 - d) Abū Naṣr Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī, Ma'āthir-i-Siddiqī Vol I pp. 53-74; For a detailed biography of the Nawab, see

- e. Mehr, Jamā'at-i-Muḥidīn, p. 201 - 202.
60. It was the first time in 1917 under the title, Tuḥfat al-Aḥyār.
61. Mehr, Jamā'at-i-Muḥidīn, p. 294.
62. Raḥmān 'Alī, Tadhkirah 'Ulamā'-i-Hind, (Urdu tr.) Karachi 1961 p. 571; 'Abd al-Bāqī, Ḥayāt al-'Ulamā', pp. 43-52.
63. Ibid, p. 75-80; Raḥmān 'Alī, op. cit. pp. 562-563.
64. Raḥmān 'Alī, op. cit. p. 395. For further details of about Karīmāt 'Alī, see 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir Vol. VII, pp. 394-395; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol. pp. 454; idem, Jamā'at-i-Muḥidīn, p. 293; Nadawī, Sīrat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, Vol. II, Lahore, 1974, p. 522.
65. 'Abd al-Aḥad, Maqālāt-i-Aḥmadi, quoted in Nadawī, Sīrat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd. Vol II, pp. 530-531.
66. Ibid, p. 527.
67. Muḥammad Mivān, 'Ulamā'-i-Haq Awr Unke Muḥidīnāh Kārnamā, Murādābād, 1946, p. 7. For a brief discussion on the impact of the Sayyid's work, Nadawī, op. cit. pp 525-536.

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The debacle of Balakot and the martyrdom of Sayyid Ahmad Khan¹ moved many a thinking spirit of the sub-continent. People started to rethink the entire situation anew and find out some new ways and means to achieve the objectives. The Ulama of ²Waliy Allani School were naturally more sensitive and more eager in this connection. Some scholars preferred to combat the English and other anti-Islamic forces on purely academic and intellectual level. One sees the noted and great disciples of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz and Shah Muhammad Ishāq founding Madrasahs and academic institutions. Kufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah revived the old traditional Madrasah of Shah Jahān's period, Dār al-Baqā'¹⁾. Another well-known disciple of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz joined the Madrasah Shāzi al-Dīn (later on Delhi College)²⁾ as the senior Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies. His student, Mawlānā Kamlūk 'Alī also joined the Madrasah as Associate Professor with his leader. Mawlānā Kamlūk 'Alī had also been a teacher in Madrasah Dār al-Baqā'³⁾. Abū 'Alī Qasbi had already been a student of having founded a Madrasah

Some other scholars showed more creative genius and adopted new methods to propagate Islamic ideals and to prepare the masses for a greater role. A well-known student of Shah Muhammad Ishāq, Kufti 'Ināyat Ahmad Kākerwi founded a popular association to publish Islamic literature on a mass scale. The association was named Jalsah-i-Ta'yid-i-Dīn-i-Matīn. Its headquarters was in Bareilly and it published a number of treatises and booklets on the fundamentals of Islam.⁴⁾ This was, perhaps, the first popular cultural association of its kind in the history of the Muslim sub-continent.

... support of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. ... reaction manifested in the anti-British guerrilla activities of Nawab Amīr Khān of Tonk. And lastly, their fifty and final reaction burst out in the war of Independence 1857 in which the most vehement respond to the call of jihād came from Rohilkhand. Mawlawi Dhakā' Allah (Zakaullah) writes "The revolts of other districts were minor in comparison with the revolt of Rohilkhand"

The Jihād of Bareilly under Mufti Muhammad 'Iwad took place in 1816. Mufti Muhammad 'Iwad was the maternal grandfather of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khān. He was a great scholar of Rohilkhand. He had close and long relations with Nawab Amīr Khān of Tonk. The two leaders often corresponded with each other in connection with the interest of Islam in the sub-continent.

Another important armed reaction was that of Hanūmāngarhi which took place in 1855. The immediate cause of this jihād was the destruction of a Masjid by the Hindus. The Muslim masses bitterly reacted to this; Mawlawi Amīr al-Dīn 'Alī issued a call of jihād which spread like the fire of wood. The Afghan and the people of Rohilkhand were the first to respond to this call. He also issued a verified proclamation of jihād in which he described in detail the causes and motives of the proclamation. In spite of the opposition of some Ulama, motivated by the promptings of English Government circles, the jihād started on 26 Safar 1272/7 November 1855. Mawlānā Amīr al-Dīn 'Alī was accompanied by three hundred Mujāhidīn. He was met by Captain Barlow(?) assisted by one Shaykh Husain 'Alī. The latter deceived the Mawlānā and caused his party to be encircled by English artillery. Consequently the Mawlānā and many of his colleagues fell martyr. The jihād was also participated by a number of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's followers.

These two instances were the barometer of public sentiment towards the jihād. The lava went on to boil under the surface and waited for some occasion to burst out. The occasion was provided by the incident of cartridges.¹⁸⁾ Soon the entire sub-continent was shaken by an unprecedented revolt. A Fatwā of jihād was issued in Delhi by the prominent Ulema present in the city. The Fatwā proclaimed that jihād had become at that time the personal religious obligation (Fard 'Ayn) of each and every Muslim.¹⁹⁾ The Fatwā was signed among others by Miyan Nadjir Husayn Muhaddith, the disciple-successor of Shah Muhammad Ishāq. Mawlānā Rahmat Allah Kerānwi, Mufti Sadr al-Dīn Āzurdah, the well-known disciple of Shah Ahmad Sa'Id, Shah Abd al-Ghani both of them the disciples of Shah Muhammad Ishāq, Mawlāwī Safarāz 'Alī, Mawlānā Nūr al-Hasan of Kāndhla, a student of Shah Muhammad Ishāq, Mufti Ilāhi Bekkash, Mufti Sadr al-Dīn Āzurdah, and others.

Not only the Fatwā but the entire movement of jihād in 1857 was conceived of, fully supported and earnestly participated by the scholars of Shah Waliy Allah's school. Mufti Sadr al-Dīn Āzurdah (1204 A.H/1789 A.D. 1255 A.H/1868 A.D.) was a prominent student of Shah Abd al-'Azīz, Shah Abd al-Qādir and Shah Muhammad Ishāq. He participated in the issuing of the Fatwā in Delhi. After the debacle he was imprisoned and all his property including his vast library was confiscated. The library's cost in those days was estimated to be Rs.3,00,000. He had a large circle of disciples and had revived the Madrasah Dār al-Baqā' and run it by his own personal resources.²⁰⁾ Shah Ahmad Sa'Id and his younger brother Shah Abd al-Ghani had also signed the Fatwā. They were both the well-known disciples and successors of Shah Muhammad Ishāq in Hadīth.

Mawlānā Ahmad Sa'īd (also a great-grandson of the Fajjardīd) was the first Muslim divine who conceived of jihād in 1857. The Shī'ah historian Kamāl al-Dīn Haydar Husayni writes, 'Mawlānā Ahmad Sa'īd, the grandson of Shāh Ghulām 'Alī and a great divine of Ahl al-Sunnah instigated the banner of jihād to be lifted in the Jāmi' Masjid of Delhi.²²⁾

Mawlānā Ahmad Sa'īd's efforts to popularize the idea of jihād were further accelerated by Mawlānā Rahmat Allāh Kerānwi.²³⁾ He came to Delhi and stayed in a masjid near the Red Fort. He had come to enquire the position of jihād in the capital. It seems that he met the scholars and leaders in Delhi, discussed important matters and the prospects of jihād with them and went back. He came again on 30 June 1857 at the head of a band of two hundred men from Najībābād (in Rohilkhand) and started preparations for launching hostilities.²⁴⁾

Outside Delhi also the Ulema, especially of Shāh Waliy Allāh's school, played their effective role in advancing the cause of jihād. In Aligarh, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Jalīl Aligarhi (1225/1810 — 1274/1857) issued a Fatwā of Jihād on 30 June 1857; it filled the Muslim with great enthusiasm. The Meos were specially moved to come out and fight heroically. The English were beaten and only three days later after the issue of Fatwā,²⁵⁾ on 3 July the Britishers were driven out of the city. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Jalīl was a student of Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn and Shāh Muhammad Ishāq. He got martyrdom at the hands of the English and was buried in the Jāmi' Masjid of Aligarh.²⁶⁾ The Mawlānā was also a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd. He passed his entire life in teaching; he taught Islamic sciences to innumerable students.^{26-A)}

Mawlānā 'Abd al-'Azīz's nephew, sister's son, Mawlāwī Nasīm Allāh was the real leader of Jihād in Aligarh. He was a disciple of his uncle and Mufti Saqr al-Dīn Āzurdah. After driving the English away from the city, Mawlāwī Nasīm Allāh assumed the administration of Aligarh city and its suburbs and a public announcement (Manādi) was made in the typical style of later Mughal period. "The people belong to God, the country belongs to the (Mughal) king and the order is by Mawlāwī Nasīm Allāh."²⁸⁾ Mawlāwī Nasīm Allāh ran the administration of the city very ably for three months. On 4 October the British forces sieged the city and their attack continued for about three weeks. They were finally able to rush into the city and recapture it. Mawlāwī Nasīm Allāh²⁹⁾ was shot dead.

In Cowpur Mawlānā Salāmat Allāh Kashfi Badā'ūnī issued the³⁰⁾ Fatwā. He was a noted Alim of that area and was among the students of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and Shāh Kaffī' al-Dīn.³¹⁾ He was very active in the Jihād movement and his activities have also been noticed by English chroniclers.³²⁾

Another noted scholar in this connection was Mufti 'Ināyat Ahmad Kākorwī. (1228 A.H. — 1279 A.H.) He got his early education at the hands of Mawlānā Buzurg 'Alī who was a disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and Shāh Kaffī' al-Dīn. Mawlānā Buzurg 'Alī taught him all the religious and other sciences. Mufti 'Ināyat Ahmad became his successor in his Madrasah in Aligarh. He had also learnt the Hadīth from Shāh Muḥammad Ishāq. He was the first Muslim scholar who founded first popular Muslim association for Tablīgh on modern³³⁾ lines. In 1857 Mufti 'Ināyat Ahmad became the right hand-man of Nawab Khān Bahādur Khān who was the supreme leader of Jihād in

After 1857 he was sentenced for life imprisonment and was sent to Andaman. There he wrote a number of books including Tawārīkh-i-Habīb-i-Ilāh which is the perhaps, first ever book written on Sirah in Urdu. In 1270 A.H. he was released from imprisonment and came back to India. He established a Madrasah, Fayd-i-‘Am, in Cownpur which is said to be the forerunner of Dār al-‘Ulūm Nadwah al-‘Ulamā’³⁴⁾. In 1279 he was going to Hajj but the ship struck to a hill under the surface of the sea near Jeddah and the Mufti was drowned while in prayers and Ihram.³⁵⁾

Another right hand man of Nawab Khān Bahādur Khān in Rohilkhand area was Mawlānā Kifāyat ‘Alī Kāfi. He was a student of Shāh Abū Sa‘īd Mujaddidi, a student of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Mawlānā Kifāyat ‘Alī Kāfi paid a pioneering role in organizing the jihād in Murādābād, when the English forces were driven out of Murādābād city and Nawab Khān Bahādur Khān's authority was recognized and established in the city. Mawlānā Kāfi was appointed Shadr al-Sharī (chief Judge and head of the religious affairs department). He made a tremendous contribution in popularizing the jihād movement. He sent copies of the Fatwā of Jihād to many places and himself extensively toured the Rohilkhand area. At some places he stayed for weeks to give public sermons on jihād.³⁷⁾ He also went to Anola where a weekly gathering was held and lectures were delivered on the jihād. He also brought to Anola and elsewhere the copies of the Fatwā of jihād issued in Delhi in 1857. He stayed a week in Anola and made several speeches on the jihād.³⁸⁾ Mawlānā Kifāyat ‘Alī was hanged to death by the British in April 1858.

In Thānah Bhawan, near Muzaffarnagar, the jihād was entirely organized and lead by the ‘Ulamā’ of Shāh Waliy Allah tradition. A

Ma'lis-i-Shūrā was convened in Thānah Bhawan to discuss the prospects of Jihād, the meeting was attended by most prominent personalities of the area. Among others it was attended by Hāji Imdād Allah, Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāsim Nānawtawī, Mawlānā Kashīd Aḥmad Gangohī, the three well-known Mujāhid-scholar brothers, Mawlānā Muḥammad Munīr Nānawtawī, Mawlānā Muḥammad Mazhar Nānawtawī and Mawlānā Muḥammad Aḥsan Nānawtawī, Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad Thānwi, Hāfiz Muḥammad Dāmin Thānwi, Qādi 'Ināyat 'Alī Thānwi and others.³⁹⁾ The Shūrā discussed the matter in detail and it was decided by a vote of over-whelming majority that Jihād should be launched in Thānah Bhawan and its suburbs. Only Mawlānā Muḥammad Aḥsan and Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad dissented from this. Their plea was that the juristic or legal pre-requisites of Jihād were not present and the resources were not sufficient.⁴⁰⁾

To carry on the Jihād on pure Islamic patterns Hāji Imdād Allah was elected as the Amīr, Mawlānā Kashīd Aḥmad as the Qādi⁴¹⁾ and Mawlānā Muḥammad Munīr as the military secretary. All of them belonged in one way or the other to Shāh Waliy Allah's tradition. Hāji Imdād Allah Thānwi was among the disciples of Mawlānā Naṣīr al-Dīn Dīlhwī, a grandson of Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn.⁴²⁾ He was also initiated in mystic experience by Miyanjī Nūr Muḥammad of Jhīnjānah who was a disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-Raḥīm Wilāyati, a student, disciple and associate of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd.⁴³⁾ Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāsim had got his education at the hands of most eminent scholars of Shāh Waliy Allah's tradition living at that time. Among his teachers were Mawlānā Muḥammad Mazhar Nānawtawī, Mawlānā Mamlūk 'Alī, Shāh 'Abd al-Ghani, Mufti Ṣadr al-Dīn Āzurdah, and⁴⁴⁾ Mawlānā Aḥmad 'Alī Sahāranpūri. Mawlānā Muḥammad Munīr was also a

student of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Mufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah and Shah Abd al-Ghani. He was also Mawlana Muhammad Qasim. He was a noted student of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Mufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah, Mawlana Rashid al-Din and Mawlana Mamluk Ali, Shah Abd al-Ghani and Mawlana Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri. The Qadi of the Mujahidin in Thanah Bhawan, Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi was also a student of Shah Abd al-Ghani, Mawlana Mamluk Ali and Mufti Sadr al-Din. He was a class-fellow of Mawlana Muhammad Qasim.⁴⁶⁾

Another scholar who popularized the jihad in Allahabad was Mawlana Liyakat Ali Allahbadi. He conformed to the ideas of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. He was an enthusiastic worker and a staunch preacher of his revivalist movement. He did an extraordinary work in 1857 to spread the jihad. He got published on a large scale the versified proclamation of jihad of Mawlana Khurram Ali Balhor.⁴⁸⁾ He himself also published another proclamation of jihad. In the first week of June 1857 Mawlana Liyakat Ali was able to oust the British forces from Allahabad. He himself was elected as the ruler of the province. Local officials were appointed. Soon he got confirmation decree from Delhi. After the defeat of the Mujahidin, Mawlana Liyakat Ali went underground and wandered throughout India. He continued his missionary work and advocacy for the suppression of Bida'ah. He also continued his call for the jihad and used to take the Bay'ah in the name of his Firqah-i-Jihadiyyah (Party of Jihad). After sometime he settled in Lajpūr and began there his reform activities anew. The ruler of Lajpūr, Nawab Ibrahim Muhammad Yaqut Khan II was much impressed by the Mawlana. He assigned to the Mawlana all judicial work which he executed according to the law of the Shari'ah. He stayed ten years in Lajpūr but finally

and English got in touch with his activities there. He was arrested and was awarded life imprisonment by transportation for life at 49 andamans.

In east Punjab the influence of Shāh Waliy Allah's school was in no way lesser than the eastern provinces of the sub-continent. In Ludhiana Mawlawi 'Abd al-Qādir Ludhianwi was the pivotal figure during the jihād. He was born in 1206 in Jullundar (Jālandhar). After getting his education in Madrasah Rahīmīyyah in Delhi; he got mystic initiation by Shāh 'Abd Allah Jayrājpūri, a disciple and successor of Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir. His early career had been that of a teacher and preacher in his home town. He also got in touch with Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and had correspondance with some of his family members. In 1857 Mawlawi 'Abd al-Qādir participated in the jihād along with his four sons. Ludhiana had become an important center of jihād. Some early writers have also thrown light on the central position of Ludhiana and the role of Mawlawi 'Abd al-Qādir in the jihād of 1857. 51)

After the fall of Delhi Mawlawi 'Abd al-Qādir and his sons disappeared in the forest of Patiala. Their wealth and property were confiscated and put to auction in Ludhiana. The British government announced a prize for Mawlawi 'Abd al-Qādir's arrest. The father and the sons settled down in Satlānah near Patiala and started their missionary work and the preaching of Islam. The Shā'ā'ir (symbols) of Islam got considerable currency and vogue in that area due to their efforts. Mawlawi 'Abd al-Qādir died in Satlānah in 1276/1860. He had a good influence in the royal court of Afghanistan. After his death, his son Mawlawi Sayf al-Rahmān went to Kabul and settled down there. This Mawlawi Sayf al-Rahmān

how did he go there?

We have already referred to the services of Mawlānā Fayḍ Ahmad Badā'ūnī who was a close associate of Mawlānā Rahmat Allāh Kerānwī in his theological debates with the Christian missionaries. He was a very learned man and participated in the jihād 1857 with fullest possible vigour and devotion. He came to Delhi soon after Bakht Khān's arrival in the capital and presented himself to the audience of Bahādur Shāh. He was assigned judicial duties in the capital. After the fall of Delhi Mawlānā Fayḍ Ahmad and Dr. Nazir Khān went to Lucknow and joined Mawlānā Ahmad Allāh Shāh. They fought under his command. After the fall of Lucknow the two divines went to Badā'ūn and joined the struggle under Shāhzādah Fīrūz Shāh. Finally they rejoined Mawlānā Ahmad Allāh Shāh at Muḥammadi. After the martyrdom of Mawlānā Ahmad Allāh Shāh, Mawlānā Fayḍ Ahmad Badā'ūnī disappeared and could never be traced.

The most enthusiastic and vigilant leader of the jihād in 1857 was Mawlānā Aḥmad Allāh Shāh. His geneology has been traced back to Tipū Sultān Shahīd. Although no direct link is traceable between Mawlānā Aḥmad Allāh Shāh and Shāh Waliy Allāh's circle but he was able to attract several scholars of repute to his jihād campaigns and some of them belonged to Shāh Waliy Allāh's circle.

It is, however, not improbable that he might have inherited some Waliy-Allahi trends indirectly through Tipū Sulṭān and Shāh Abū Sa'īd Rai Barelawi and directly through Mufti Ṣadr al-Dīn 56) Āzurdah. The Mawlānā was born around 1817 near Madras. He completed

The Mawlānā went to Agra and visited many other cities of Northern India preaching for the Jihād. He was able to gather a good number of followers whom he gave military training. He also kept in contact with the Muslim soldiers of the British armies. His activities soon attracted the British attention and was arrested and awarded death sentence. ⁶⁰⁾ But before he could be executed the war of Independence broke out and the Mujāhidīn released the Mawlānā from prison. Soon after release the Mawlānā burnt a fire of emotion and enthusiasm for Jihād in Faizabad. Then he moved to Lucknow alongwith a large number of Mujāhidīn. After a long struggle he was able to clear Lucknow from British troops. Independent authority was established and a confirmation decree also issued by the Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh. After the fall of Lucknow the Mawlānā was able to extricate his forces from the city. After some small skirmishes with the British forces ⁶¹⁾ he took a strong position in Muhammadi.

1. Mawlawi Saqr al-Dīn, Āshiq-i-Āzād, Vol. II, p. 113; Abu'l Hasan Ali Nadwi, Hindustan ki Qadiya Islami Darsgahan, Azam Garh, 1936, p. 23. This Madrasah was run and financed by Mufti Saqr al-Dīn Āzardah and was ruined in 1857 cf. Ghulam Rasūl Mehr, Khutūt-i-Ghālīb, Lahore, 1951, p. 320.
2. Anwar al-Hasan Sherkoti, Sirat-i-Ya'qūb wa Mamlūk, Karachi, 1974, p. 27.
3. Huzhat al-Khawātir, Vol. VII, p. 487.
4. Professor Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādiri has given the details of the work of this association; cf. Qādiri, Jano-i-Āzādi 1857, Karachi, 1975, pp. 118-119, 463-465.
5. L.g. Muḥammad Salīm, Ek Muftahid Mi'mār, Karachi, 1952, p. 6.
6. Ibid. pp. 20-25.
7. The book was first published in Arabic from Istanbul; more than one edition have also been published in Egypt. It is also said that a Turkish scholar had translated it into Turkish at the request of Khayr al-Dīn Pāshā. According to Sayyid Muḥammad Miyyān, Ulamā-i-Haqq, Vol. I, p. 35, the Ottoman government also got it translated into several European languages. A Gujrati translation has also been made by Mawlawi Ghulam Muḥammad Bhānja Rānderi which was published. In 1891 an English translation also appeared. A thoroughly edited Urdu translation was also published by Muḥammad Taqī Uthmāni from Karachi in 1967.
8. Other important works of Mawlānā Raḥmat Allāh on the subject of Islam and Christianity are:

1. Al-Baṭṭal al-Ḥarīṣ (Delhi, 1270).
2. Al-Baṭṭal al-Ḥarīṣ (Delhi, 1270).
3. Izālāh al-Shukūk, 2 Vols, 1269.
4. I'āz-i-Ḥisāb, Agra and Delhi, (Ridwi Press) pp. 290.
5. Asāhḥ al-Madīth fi Ibtāl al-Tathlīth 1292, Delhi, (Ridwi Press) For fuller details, Muḥammad Miṣbāḥ, op. cit. pp. 35-37; Muḥammad Salīm, op. cit. pp. 25-26.
9. Referring to the orthodoxy of the Rohillas, Muḥsin, Tirihtī writes:

کما نوا أشد قوم عصيانية لما يتحلون من آراء ففصا دهم (رحم الله تعالى
 وأشد الناس جمورا عليها).

Gf. Al-Yānfi al-Jani fi Asānīd 'Abd al-Ghani p. 83.
10. Cf. Muṣṭafā 'Alī Bareilwi, Nawab Khān Bahādur Khān, p. 30
11. Zakariyāh, Tārīkh-i-Ūrūj-i-Salṭanat-i-Inglishiyyah, Delhi, 1904, p. 820.
12. Ayyūb Qādiri, Jang-i-Āzādi 1857, Karachi, 1975, p. 31-34.
13. Devī Parasad, Iftikhār al-Tawārīkh, cited in Ayyūb Qādiri, Jang-i-Āzādi, pp. 35, 50 ff.
14. Ibid. p. 100
15. Ibid. pp. 101-103.
16. Ibid. pp. 111-112.
17. Ibid. p. 116.
18. For the details of the incident, Moinul Haq, The Great Revolution of 1857, Karachi, 1968, pp. 71-88 also, A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 265-268.

19. The text of Latīf was also published in various newspapers of Delhi at that time. The Sādir al-Akhbār of Delhi in its issue of 26 April 1857 had also published the texts. Cf. Anwār al-Hasan Sherkoti, Anwār-i-Qāsimi, op. cit. pp. 259-260 giving full texts.
20. His students include Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khān, Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāsim, Mawlānā Rashīd Ahmad and others. For his biography see Rahmāt 'Alī, Tadhkirah 'Ulamā'-i-Hind (Urdu Translation by Ayyūb Qādiri) pp. 248-249; Faqīr Muḥammad, Hadā'iq al-Manafiyah, pp. 481-483; 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Nuzhat al-Khawātir, Vol. VII, pp. 220-221; 'Abd al-Qādir Khān Ilm wa 'Amal, (Urdu translation), Karachi, 1970, Vol. I pp. 271-273; Muḥsin Tirihtī, Al-Yanī' al-Jani fi Asānā' 'Abd al-Qāni, p. 77; Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khān, Ithāf al-Mubalā' pp. 260-263.
21. 'Abd al-Latīf, 1857 Ka Tārīkhī Roznāmchah, p. 88.
22. Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar Ḥusaynī, Gayṣar al-Tawārīkh, Vol. I, p. 450.
23. Cited in Qādiri, Jano-i-Āzādi, pp. 184-185.
24. 'Abd al-Latīf, op. cit.
25. Ayyūb Qādiri, Jano-i-Āzādi, pp. 192-193.
26. Ibid. f.n.
- 26-A. 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Nuzhat al-Khawātir, Vol. VII, p. 438.
27. Imdād Sābirī, 1857 Ka Mu'āhid Shu'arā', pp. 373-382.
28. Cf. Ayyūb Qādir Jano-i-Āzādi, p. 195.

29. Ibid. p. 190; also Ayyūb Qādiri, op. cit.
30. Khurshīd Kuttādā al-Qur'ān, Jano-i-Āzādī, vol. 1, 1950, pp. 252, cited in Qādiri, op. cit. p. 250.
31. Iadhkirah 'Ulamā' i-Hind, pp. 219-223
32. Cf. Ayyūb Qādiri, p. 250
33. See supra
34. Ayyūb Qādiri, Jano-i-Āzādī, pp. 447-448.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid. p. 564.
38. Ibid. pp. 595-596.
39. Anwār al-Hasan Sherkoti, Anwār-i-Qāsimi, Lahore, 1969, p. 279; also Ayyūb Qādiri, Jano-i-Āzādī, p. 178.
40. Sherkoti, op. cit. p. 280; Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādiri, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ahsan Nānotawī, Karachi, 1966, pp. 53-54 Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad (1230-1296 / 1814-1879) was a disciple of Shāh Muḥammad Ishāq. He wrote several books on Ḥadīth and Tasawwuf; for fuller details, Ṭhanā' al-Ḥaqq, Introduction, Ishāq waḥd al-Wujūd wa'l Shuhūd, Karachi, 1963.
41. Ayyūb Qādiri, Jano-i-Āzādī, p. 178.
42. I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, pp. 158, 201.
43. Mahr, Jamā'at-i-Muṭahhidīn, pp.
44. Sherkoti, Anwār-i-Qāsimi, pp. 60-126 gives full details of his teachers with biographical notes.
45. Ibid. pp. 45; also Ayyūb Qādiri, in foot note to Iadhkirah 'Ulamā' i-Hind, p. 248.
46. Sherkoti, op. cit. p. 39.

47. Iqbalīrī: 'Ulamā' i-Hind, p. 248.
48. Ayyūb Qādirī, Jano-i-Āzādī, Ch. VIII, has given the full texts of these two I'lāns.
49. Ayyūb Qādirī, Jano-i-Āzādī, pp. 573-576.
50. Ibid. p. 587.
51. See for instance, V.D. Sarvarkar, The Indian War of Independence 1857, London, 1909, p. 155.
52. Ayyūb Qādirī, Jano-i-Āzādī, p. 590-591.
53. Qureshī, Ulama in Politics, p. 196.
54. Muḥammad Miyan, 'Ulamā' i-Hind Kā Shāndār Kādi, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 311.
55. Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madani, Naqsh-i-Hayāt, Vol. II p. 46 f.n.
56. Qureshī, Ulama in Politics, p. 188.
57. Ibid. p. 189.
58. Ibid. pp. 190-191.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Qureshī, op. cit. pp. 193-194.
62. Sayyid Murtazā 'Alī Aurailawī, Nawab Khān Bahādur Khān, p. 160; Qureshī, op. cit. p. 194, f.n. 55.
63. Ayyūb Qādirī, Jano-i-Āzādī, pp. 298-299.

PART FOUR

SHAH WALIY ALLAH'S CONTRIBUTION
IN THE
RELIGIO-ACADEMIC REVIVALISM OF MUSLIM INDIA
A N D
HIS IMPACT UPON THE ISLAMIC THOUGHT AND EDUCATION
DURING THE LAST
TWO CENTURIES

ACADEMIC ROLE OF SHĀH WALIY ALLAH

The real greatness of Shāh Waliy Allah does not lie in his role as a political seer or a social reformer. His real greatness lies in his lasting academic work. He successfully advanced and then perfected the line initiated by his father Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm and uncle Shaykh Abu'l Ridā Muhammad. Their efforts in the intellectual field were directed towards evolving such a common way which should be adopted equally by the Muslim philosopher, Sufi, Mutakallim and the jurist. They tried to fill the gap between Intuition, Intellect and Revelation so that a true Islamic outlook may emerge.¹⁾ This legacy was further developed by Shāh Waliy Allah when he came into contact with Shaykh Abū Tāhir al-Kurdi in Arabia. Shaykh Abū Tāhir's father, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi's outlook of religion and on religion and his over-all mentality were akin to those of Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm. Apart from other similarities it is a coincidence that both of them trace their chain of teachers to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī.²⁾

Traditionally Shāh Waliy Allah belongs to the Hanafi school. His forefathers were also Hanafi. But his Shaykh in the Hijāz, Shaykh Abū Tāhir al-Kurdi was Shāfi'i. This led Shāh Waliy Allah to equate Hanafi and Shāfi'i schools of Fiqh. He chooses to stick to the Hanafi school in his home country as far as practicable but on the other hand he does not dismiss the Shāfi'i school altogether. He bases his study of Hanafi Fiqh on the works of al-Shaybānī and bases the study of Shāfi'i Fiqh directly on the works of al-Shāfi'i. And when he sees that both al-Shaybānī and al-Shāfi'i have taken Fiqh, among others, from Mālik ibn Anas he concludes that Mālik's

Uwattā is the basis of all Fiqh. All the four Sunni schools have ramified from the same root. Since the Uwattā was compiled in Madinah it presents an epitome of the juristic traditions of Madinah which can be traced back to 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb. That is why Shāh Waliy Allah considers the above-mentioned three schools a commentary of the juristic approach of 'Umar. This is the reason why he declares in his Izālat al-Khafā' that 'Umar is the absolute Mujtahid (al-Mujtahid al-Mutlaq) while the three imāms are only Mujtahid Muntasib as compared to 'Umar.³⁾ This affiliation with 'Umar made Shāh Waliy Allah a comprehensive personality which combined in him all the four Sunni Schools.

He not only tried to combine between the schools of Fiqh but also successfully advanced the line of combining the Sharī'ah and the Tarīqah initiated by the Mujāhid and maintained, among others by Shāh Waliy Allah's father. Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's approach to controversial problems was purely academic and he sought to minimize them and to reconcile the opposite points of view. Apart from reconciling the Sharī'ah and the Tarīqah, Shāh Waliy Allah tried to reconcile between different Sufi orders prevalent in the sub-continent. He tried to minimize the differences among these orders and combined in his person all the four major Sufi orders of the sub-continent.⁵⁾ He used to take the Bay'ah in the Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyyah, Chishtiyyah and Suhrawardiyyah which are the mother of all mystic tradition in this part of the Muslim world.

But it seems that the mystic and spiritual stature of Shāh Waliy Allah was eclipsed by the towering stature of his academic and scholarly career. We see one of his most celebrated students,

Qaf Thānī Allah Pānīpati turning to Kirzā higher Jān Jānān, the great contemporary of Shāh Waliy Allah, for giving allegiance to him (presumably in search of more spiritual satisfaction?).

With this intellectual background Shāh Waliy Allah was able to embark upon the gigantic task of the reconstruction of Islamic sciences. In execution of this task he was greatly benefited by the lectures on Holy Quran delivered by his father. He considers these lectures one of the major blessings God has bestowed upon him. He says 'I had several occasions to study the Holy Quran at the feet of my father with a deep reflection on its meanings, explanation of the occasions on which relevant verses or Sūrahs were revealed and with a research in the exegeses and commentaries. With the help of this study was opened for me a great portal of knowledge and the apprehension of Truth'.⁶⁾ Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm had studied the Quran with 'atmost reflection and deepest thinking in its meanings'.⁷⁾

Shāh Waliy Allah developed this tradition and made the Quran the basis of his entire academic role. Apart from popularising the translation of the Holy Quran in the intelligible, he also made the interpretation of the Holy Book very easy. He wrote a book, Al-Fawz al-Kabīr Fi Usūl al-Tafsīr in which he outlined⁸⁾ the principles to be followed in the interpretation of the Quran. He also wrote another book, Fath al-Khabīr, in which he discussed⁹⁾ some problems of the interpretation. This was the best method to acquaint the common man the Holy Book and the main sources of Islamic teachings. Direct acquaintance with the Quran and the Sunnah shifts the emphasis from minor theological and doctrinal differences to the fundamentals and the essentials of religion.

people in the sub-continent knew, and in most of the cases even now know, their religion not through the Holy Quran, Hadīth or the Sīrah but through the legal hairsplittings of the Fuqahā' of the later periods. Instead of uniting the people together, this situation contributed to further widening the gulf of differences. Furthermore, the Fuqahā' mainly concentrated on the verses, which contain some commandments (Āyāt al-Aḥkām). Their relative disregard and indifference with the entire Quran played not on inconsiderable role in the popular negligence towards the contemplation of the Quran.

To break with this tradition Shāh Waliy Allah translated the Holy Quran into Persian, the language of culture, education and administration in Mughal India. He completed the translation in 1151 A.H. and included it in the curriculum of Madrasah Rahīmiyyah in 1156. He also appended short explanatory notes on the margin.

Next to the Quran was the Hadīth and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet. It is the second major source of the commandments of Islam. Although celebrities like Imām Hasan Ṣaghānī (. 650AH) and Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddīth Dihlawī had spent years to popularize the Hadīth in the sub-continent but the real popularity of the science of Hadīth on mass level began after Shāh Waliy All Imām Hasan Ṣaghānī had compiled a new collection of his own, ¹¹⁾ Mashāriq al-Aḥwār, and had tried to popularize it among the people. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, on the other hand, considered Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ more suitable to be adopted as the basic collection of Hadīth. He included it in the curriculum of his Madrasah and ¹²⁾ extensively wrote on it. Shāh Waliy Allah differed in this respect

from his two great predecessors. He selected the Muwatta of Imam Malik as the basic text book of Hadith in his curriculum. He extensively wrote on Muwatta. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq had written two commentaries on Ushkhat, one in Arabic and one in Persian; Shah Waliy Allah also wrote two commentaries on Muwatta, one in Arabic¹³⁾ and the other in Persian.

Shah Waliy Allah's intention in introducing the Muwatta was that it combines Hadith and Fiqh. It supports Shah Waliy Allah's thesis of combining the Tarīqah al-Fuqahā and Tarīqah al-Muhaddithūn, and leads its readers to be al-Fuqahā al-Muhaddithūn. Moreover, it is the source of at least three schools of Sunni jurisprudence. Shah Waliy Allah even considers him the basis of all the four schools and says that these school are like a¹⁴⁾ commentary on the text of Muwatta.

Apart from popularising the Muwatta, Shah Waliy Allah initiated a new movement for the study of Hadith in the sub-continent. It was this vigorous movement which saved the science of Hadith from being totally forgotten not only in the sub-continent but also in the Muslim world at large. This contribution of the Ulema of the sub-continent was greatly^{hailed} by the great Egyptian scholar~~and~~ and revivalist thinker, Sayyid Rashid Ridā. He says:

ولولا عناية وإخواننا علماء الهند بعلوم الحديث في هذا العصر لقتى علينا بالزوال من أمتار الشرق - فقد ضعفت في مصر واثام والعراق والحجاز منذ القرن العاشر للهجرة - وإنني لما هاجرت إلى مصر سنة ١٣٥١ هـ رأيت خطباء مساجدها الأزهري وغيره يذكرون الأحاديث في طبعهم غير مخرجة ، ومنها الضعيف والمنكدر والموضوع ، ومثلهم في هذا الزمان والمدارس ومصنفوا الكتب

"If our brothers, the Ulema of India, ^{had} not taken care of the Hadith sciences in this age, these sciences would have totally vanished from eastern countries. Since tenth century of

When the Hadīth sciences had started to degenerate in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Hijaz. When I migrated to Egypt in 1310 A.H./1892 A.D. I saw the speakers and the orators of the Egyptian mosques, Al-Azhar and others, that they quoted unauthentic Aḥadīth without making any distinction between the Weak, the Unknown and the Concocted. The same was the case with the preachers, teachers and the authors.¹⁵⁾

This great work for the preservation of Hadīth was, no doubt, initiated by Shāh Waliy Allah. His work for the revival of Hadīth sciences in the Sub-continent is the starting point of an unprecedented activity of Hadīth teaching and writing during past two hundred years. Almost every noted scholar and teacher of Hadīth in the Sub-continent traces his academic genealogy to Shāh Waliy Allah. The fore-most scholars of Hadīth in the Sub-continent during past two hundred years, Mirzā Hasan 'Alī Ṣaghīr, Shāh 'Abd al-Ghani, Mawlānā Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohi, Mawlānā Khalīl Aḥmad, Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad Muḥaddith, Mufti 'Abd al-Qayyūm Budhānwī, Miyan Nadhīr Ḥusayn, Mawlānā Fayḍ al-Ḥasan Sahāranpūrī, Mawlānā Sayyid Anwar Shāh Kashmīrī, Mawlānā Muḥammad Yūsuf Ḍannori, Mawlānā Muḥammad Zakariyyā' and many others whose even the names cannot be mentioned in a brief chapter all belong to Shāh Waliy Allah's tradition. The present writer pridefully records that through his teacher, late Mawlānā 'Abd al-Shakūr, he also has the honour to be connected with this golden chain. The late Mawlānā was a disciple-student of Mawlānā Khalīl Aḥmad, the author of the celebrated work on Hadīth, Badhl al-Maithūd fī Hall Abī Dāwūd and a student of Mawlānā Muḥammad Mazhar Mānawtawī.

We shall briefly discuss the academic and educational role of some of the more important themes of this golden chair in a subsequent chapter.

The most original contribution of Shāh Waliy Allah in the field of Hadīth is the philosophical reconstruction of the science of Hadīth, which he calls the science of the secrets of the Religion ('Ilm Asrār al-Dīn). He says that this science discusses the ~~secrets~~ secrets behind the divine commandments and their wisdom and rationale. According to him this science, which is, in fact, the philosophy of Islam reconstructed, is the most difficult and intricate of all Hadīth sciences; this is the foremost the most sublime of all the religious sciences of Islam. (16) A deep study of this science will give an insight in the philosophy and wisdom of the Sharī'ah. (17) This science has the same relationship with the Hadīth literature as prosody and meterics have with poetry or as the logic has with the arguments of philosophers or the jurisprudence with the bulk of legal literature. (18) Shāh Waliy Allah says that very few people have delved deeply into this science; very few people have tried to formulate generalizations in the wisdom of the Sharī'ah. Only men like Ghazālī and Khaṭṭābī have sweet upon the subject. (19) The results of Shāh Waliy Allah's thinking and study in this field have been expounded in his Huṣṣat Allah-al-Balighah. He thinks that the exposition of the wisdom and rationale of the commandments of the Sharī'ah would protect it from inner corruption and other encroachments; it is must to preserve the integrity of the Sharī'ah. (20)

1. Cf. 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Al-Furqān, Dhaka: 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Breilly, 1941, p. 253
2. Ibid. p. 254.
3. Cf. 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Al-Furqān, pp. 254-255
4. Qureshi, Ulema in Politics, p. 108.
5. A History of Freedom Movement, vol. I, p. 498
6. Shāh Waliy Allah, Al-Juz' al-Latīf (abridged in Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Shāh Waliy Allah ke Siyāsī Maktūbāt, 1st Edition p. 181.
7. Shāh Waliy Allah, Anfās al-'Arifīn, cited in al-Rahīm vol: I 71, Number 4, p. 15.
8. Shāh Waliy Allah, Al-Fawz al-Kabīr, (Arabic translation) published several times in Karachi, Lahore, 1951.
9. Fath al-Khabīr, Karachi, 19 *Handwritten: Sulayman Nadawi*
10. For a fuller discussion see Zubaid Ahmad, India's Contribution to the Study of Hadīth Literature, Dacca, 1955, pp. 172-187. Also Sulayman Nadawi Hindustān men 'Ilm-Hadīth, Ma'ārif, Azamgarh, 1928 - 1929.
11. Mashāriq al-Anwār, Cowpur, 1913.
12. For some details, the present writer op. cit. p. 16-17
13. Shāh Waliy Allah, Al-Musawwā min Ahādīth al-Muwattā vols. 2, Mecca, 1351-53 (Arabic); Musaffā, vols 2 Delhi 1293 (Persian).
14. Shāh Waliy Allah, Al-Musawwā, op. cit. vol. I, p. 5 et seq.
15. Sayyid Rashīd Ridā, Introduction to Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Translation), Miftāh Kunūz al-Sunnah, Cairo, 1934, p. 5

16. Ḥaṣan Ḥallī Ḥallī, Ḥaṣṣat Ḥallī al-Ḥallī,
Vol II, Cairo, 1322 A.H. r. 3
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid. p. 5
20. Ibid. 9. 7

THE ROLE OF SHAH WALIY ALLAH'S
ASSOCIATE IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF
ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Shah Waliy Allah was a bridge between the medieval and the modern periods of the intellectual and religious history of Muslim India. Freeland Abbot has compared him with the celebrated Italian poet, Dante Alighieri, who is considered an important link between medieval and the modern in the West. ⁽¹⁾ Shah Waliy Allah's contribution in absorbing the various traditions of Muslim religious and intellectual life of medieval India and communicating it in a much better and systematic form to the modern period is invaluable. He must have inherited the classical and orthodox tradition of Ali al-Muttaqi, Abd al-Wahhab al-Muttaqi and Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehli ^(1-A) during his academic pursuits in Delhi as a young student. He saturated himself with the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi tradition through several avenues. His own father, ~~Sak~~ Shah Abd al-Rahim, was initiated in the Naqshbandi order by Khwajah Khurd, the son of Khwaja Baqi Billah; he (²Shah Abd al-Rahim) preferred Khwajah Baqi Billah's order over all other mystic orders. Another avenue was Haji Muhammad Afdal, a renowned Shaykh and scholar of Mujaddidi tradition who has also accomplished himself further through his sojourn in the Hijaz and benefiting from scholars there. He was ³⁾ among Shah Waliy Allah's teachers of Hadith.

Shah Waliy Allah was very much impressed by the way the Mujaddid conducted his efforts to revive orthodoxy. His comments and appreciation of the Mujaddid's work can be fully understood by his introduction to the Arabic translation of the Mujaddid's Persian work Risalah Radd-i-Rawafid. A celebrated Mujaddidi Shaykh

and a contemporary of Shah Muhammad Isnaq, Shah Ghulam Ali quotes a brief comment of Shah Waliy Allah on the grand personality of the Mujaddidi. It goes: None loves him save a pious believer and none hates him except a damned hypocrite.⁴⁾

This was because the Mujaddid and the Shah Waliy Allah had some close resemblances. The intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in which they wrought were similar. If the Mujaddid had to witness and work against the heresy of Akbar, Shah Waliy Allah had to work against the heresies of Dara Shikuh and his followers. The Mujaddid had seen the ascendancy of Rajputs in the Empire; the Shah saw the ascendancy of Marathas, the Jats and the Sikhs which was much larger in danger and proportions during Shah Waliy Allah life. Both of them adopted similar courses of action. If the Mujaddid contacted the members of Jirgah-i-Mumiddan-i-Islam and persuaded them to further the cause of Islam, Shah Waliy Allah also adopted the same methods. Both of them had combined in the Qadiri, Chishti and Naqshbandi nisbahs and were more deeply impressed by the latter order. These close relations between these two traditions also continued even after Shah Waliy Allah in his family. The later Mujaddidi Shaykhs and the descendants and pupils of Shah Waliy Allah have had close relations and always enjoyed mutual trust, confidence and respect.⁵⁾

The third tradition which Shah Waliy Allah inherited came through his father, Shah Abd al-Rahim who is in turn a student of Shaykh Abu'l Rida Muhammad and Mir Muhammad Zahid al-Hirawi. Shaykh Abu'l Rida was a great admirer of Muhy al-Din ibn Arabi and his philosophy. Mir Muhammad Zahid was a deep and thorough

scholar of al-Bawwani's tradition. he was appointed to the office of Ihtisab by Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1077 A.H/1666 A.D. Mir Muhammad Zahid (d. 1101 A.H/1690 A.D.) was originally from Herat in the Central Asia. His origin and habitat gave him the traditional orthodox zeal of Central Asian Muslims. ⁸⁾

The fourth and the most important tradition was that of the Ulema of the Hijaz. As has already been dealt with somewhere else, Shah Waliy Allah had the opportunity of sitting in the academic circles of Shaykh Abu Tahir al-Kurdi, Shaykh Taj al-Din al-Qala'i al-Hanafi, Shaykh Wafid Allah al-Makki al-Maliki and others. He got training and instruction especially in Hadith from them.

Thus, after assimilating in him possibly all the important academic traditions of the Muslim scholarship Shah Waliy Allah set him the task of furthering the cause of Islamic renaissance. He not only left his deep impact on the vast circle of his direct and indirect pupils but his influence is also manifestly discernible in many social, political, religious and educational movements that emerged after him. A scholar of his tradition and a well-known fighter during the war of independence 1857, Mufti Inayat Ahmad Kakorwi while commenting on the vast influence of Shah Waliy Allah says: "Shah Waliy Allah is like the heavenly tree whose roots are deeply established in their place but whose branches are spread over the houses of the Muslims at large; no Muslim dwelling is deprived of the shadow of this tree; however, many people do not know how vast its roots are spread." ⁹⁾ This simile may not be correct for outside the sub-continent, but it is very much correct about the Muslim India. In the proceeding pages we shall see how and where the branches of Wali Allahian tree spread in the

sub-continent. First we shall deal with the direct pupils and associates of Shah Waliy Allah and their role in spreading his knowledge and influence.

ASSOCIATES OF SHAH WALIY ALLAH

The number of Shah Waliy Allah's direct students has been comparatively small. Barakatī has given a list of twenty scholars whom he considers to be the most prominent among the disciples of Shah Waliy Allah.¹⁰⁾ Among these twenty only six seem to be most important and deserve special mention. These are:

1. Shaykh Muhammad Ashiq Phulati.
2. Mawlana Nur Allah Budhanwi.
3. Mawlana Muhammad Amin Kashmiri.
4. Shah Abu Sa'id Rai Bareilwi.
5. Mawlana Muhammad Makhdum Lakhnawi.
6. Makhdum Muhammad Mu'in.

We shall now briefly refer to the role of these scholars in advancing the cause of their teacher. Then we shall discuss the role of his great sons.

Shah Muhammad Ashiq occupies the foremost place among the disciples and associates of Shah Waliy Allah. He was associated with him long before the birth of even Shah Abd al-Aziz. He accompanied him during his journey for Hajj where he joined him in studies at the circles of Arab scholars in Mecca and Madinah. He had also the opportunity of studying the situation of Muslim world with Shah Waliy Allah. Another scholar Akhund Muhammad Sa'id and the father of Shah Muhammad Ashiq, Shaykh Ubayd Allah¹¹⁾ also accompanied them. It is also significant that the Sanad (Certificate) of Sahib Bukhari awarded by Shaykh Abu Tahir

al-Kurdi to Shah Waliy Allah also bore the names of Shah Muhammad¹²⁾
Ashiq and his father Shaykh Ubayy Allah.

Shah Muhammad Ashiq also enjoyed the confidence and patronage of Shah Abd al-Rahim, the father of Shah Waliy Allah. Shah Waliy Allah himself reports that his father had advised him¹³⁾ to keep close relations with Shah Muhammad Ashiq. The obedient son fully acted upon the advice of his celebrated father and¹⁴⁾ always kept his cousin with him. Shah Muhammad Ashiq also came to the full expectations of Shah Waliy Allah. The latter taught him, inter alia, his Al-Khayr al-Kathir. His lectures on al-Khayr al-Kathir were also compiled by Shah Muhammad Ashiq. A copy of this commentary is preserved in manuscript form in Rida Library,¹⁵⁾ Ramour. He is also reported to have written a commentary on Shah Waliy Allah's Risalah al-I'tisam which deals with the problems of Infallibility and the Asmah of the Prophets and other related problems.

Shah Muhammad Ashiq's contribution in preserving the works of Shah Waliy Allah, spreading his knowledge and advancing his thought-pattern is tremendous. In his Introduction to commentary of Al-Khayr al-Kathir he himself relates in details what he has done in this respect. He assisted his teacher by preparing fair copies of his manuscripts and editing the works he left unedited. He also compiled and edited the second volume of Shah Waliy Allah's letters; compiled stray fragments of his stray writings and gave them the form of treatises. He also noted down a number of speeches and lectures delivered by the master on different occasions. Moreover, he also noted down in Persian or Arabic the

mystic experiences reflected on his teacher's heart and got them corrected and approved by the author (Shah Waliy Allah). In short he tried not to leave even a single word without compilation and ¹⁷⁾ preservation.

Shah Muhammad Ashiq seems to have full appreciation of his contribution in this regard. His position vis-a-vis Shah Waliy Allah was that of Khawajah Husam al-Din Chalabi vis-a-vis Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi. Commenting on his close association with Shah Waliy Allah, Shaykh Muhammad Ashiq says:

”اگر میں اس بات کی قسم کیوں تو انشاء اللہ جانٹ نہیں ہوں گا کہ آپ کے جس قدر علوم و اسرار کا حضور صفاً نقذت کے باب میں ظہور ہوا ہے وہ میرے لئے ہوا ہے اور مجھے خطاب و گفتگو میں ہوا ہے، ان میں سے اکثر معارف ایسے ہیں جن میں اس خاک رکھ کوئی سہیلہ و شریک نہیں۔“

I will not, Inshallah, be breaking my oath if I take oath to the effect that whatever knowledge and (divine) mysteries especially in the domain of mysticism have been out flowing from him (Waliy Allah) have been for me and addressed to me; most of these sciences are such that this humble (Muhammad Ashiq) shares none in ¹⁸⁾ receiving them.”

Shah Muhammad Ashiq was the first scholar who took pains to work on the life and works of Shah Waliy Allah. He wrote a book Al-Qawl al-Jaliy fi Manaqib al-Waliy. It is, perhaps, still in the form of manuscript. A copy of it is preserved in the Khanqah of Kakori, India in manuscript form; it contains 497 pages, every page having about nineteen lines and every line about twenty words. The manuscript was scribed in 1239 A.H./1823 i.e. almost during the 1 day of Shah Abd al-Aziz. Professor Khalil Ahmad Nizami has gone

through the book it says that the book contains some material.

In his introduction to Al-Khayr al-Kathir Shah Muhammad Ashiq has discussed the higher spiritual status and scholarly stature of his master. He says that when God choses someone to be the manifestation of His Knowledge and Gnosis, they emanate from that person not as the acquired sciences but as the spiritual experiences. Shah Muhammad Ashiq says that such a perfect personality in his age was that of Shah Waliy Allah, whose knowledge and sciences are the knowledge and sciences of the Holy Prophet himself.²¹⁾

Shah Waliy Allah himself was also fully aware of the spiritual greatness of his celebrated associate and pupil. On many an occasion on his writings he commented on Shah Muhammad Ashiq. The letters he wrote to him bear true witness of his estimation of the pupil. He uses the epithets of مقام و معارف آگاه (aware of the realities and mystic sciences) and سید الشیخ و اولاد کرام (true successor of his revered ancestors).²²⁾ In his Tafhimat also, Shah Waliy Allah has included several passages in which he appreciates the work and status of Shah Muhammad Ashiq.

Shah Abu Sa'id Bareilawi was also among the most celebrated disciples of Shah Waliy Allah. He was a descendent of Shah Ilm Allah, a disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Adam Binnori, the well-known Khalifah of Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani.

Shah Abu Sa'id exchanged lengthy letters with Shah Waliy Allah, his brother Shah Ahl Allah and Shah Abd al-Aziz, his son.²³⁾ Some of these letters have also been included in Kalimat-i-Tayyib. A collection of Shah Abu Sa'id's letters to the members of Waliy Allahian family is said to have been made by Sayyid Abu al-Qasim.

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heavily; this collection was entitled Ma'atun al-Asrar.

Some other members of Shah Abu Sa'id's family were also associated with Shah Waliy Allah. One Sayyid Muhammad Nu'man (the uncle of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid) was great favour and confidence of Shah Waliy Allah. He was among those who got an opportunity to be close to the Master during his last days. When Shah Waliy Allah died on 30 Muharram 1176 A.H. (August 21, 1762 A.D) Sayyid Muhammad Numan was with him. While informing Shah Abu Sa'id about the woeful incident of the Master's death he writes: "He was very much pleased with you, I cannot describe in words his great attentions on you. Very often he enquired about you and perhaps he yearned to have the last meeting with you. Once he said: Sayyid Abu Sa'id wanted to come to me; how better if he reaches earlier?"
26)
The word he reaches the better

After Shah Waliy Allah's death, Sayyid Muhammad Nu'man went to Arabia where he performed Hajj and visited the Holy City of Medina. Then he went to Jerusalem. A few miles east-wards from Jerusalem there is said to be a dome near the river Jordan; this dome is attributed to the Prophet Moses. Sayyid Muhammad Nu'man went to pay homage to this dome where he died on 5 Jumada al-Thani 1193 A.H (June 20, 1779) and was buried near the dome. He is also reported to have left a work entitled Tadhkirat al-Abrar in which he compiled the biographies of his great ancestor Shah I'im Allah and other family celebrities.
28)

Thus, the family was able to combine the great mystic tradition of the Mujaddid and the scholarly tradition of Shah Waliy Allah. The family not only impressed the masses in their individual capacity but also produced the giant who encashed the

influence made by Shah Waliy Allah and his vast number of disciples but was also able to streamline them into a full-fledged and comprehensive Islamic revivalist movement which we shall see later — this giant was Sayyid Ahmad Shahid.

Dazi Thana Allah Panipati was another, noted student of Shah Waliy Allah. After Shah Abd al-Aziz, he was perhaps, the greatest scholar of Shah Waliy Allah's circle. He had an encyclopaedia knowledge of the Islamic Sciences. He specialized in the Hadith under the guidance of Shah Waliy Allah. Shah Abd al-Aziz ²⁹⁾ used to call him the Bayhaqi of the time. But it is curious that Shah Waliy Allah's mysticism could not satisfy his soul; for his mystic accomplishment he preferred to join first the circle of Shaykh Muhammad Abid Sanami ³⁰⁾ and then of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan.

When he was a student in Shah Waliy Allah's Madrasah he is said to have studied three hundred and fifty books in addition ³¹⁾ to his syllabi in the Madrasah. He was also appointed Qadi in the Mughal administration and executed his responsibilities as such ³²⁾ with full ability. He passed his entire life in teaching the students, guiding the disciples and writing the books. He ~~wrote~~ wrote about thirty books including the encyclopaedic work on Tafsir, Al-Tafsir al-Mazhari, which runs into seven volumes. It contains the opinions of earlier and classical commentators of the Quran with his own ideas on many issues. ³³⁾ He also wrote an exhaustive book on Fiqh in which he critically examined the sources and arguments of the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence. He died on 1st Rajab 1225 A.H./1810 A.D. about fifty years after the passing ³⁴⁾ away of his teacher, Shah Waliy Allah.

Mawlana Muhammad Makhdum Luckhnawi was one of the most eminent students of Shah Waliy Allah who served the Madrasah. He taught Hadith in Lucknow for more than half a century. He was originally from Mashhad and settled in Delhi. Then he went to Lucknow and got his early education in the well-known seminary of Farangi Mahal. His main teacher in Farangi Mahal was Mulla Nizam al-Din himself, the founder of the famous and historic, ³⁵⁾ Dars-i-Nizami. In Farangi Mahal, Mawlana Makhdum was class-mate of Mawlana Abd al-Ali Behr al-Ulum. After having graduated from the Dars-i-Nizami in Farangi Mahal, Mawlana Makhdum Luckhnawi came to Delhi and specialized in the Hadith with Shah Waliy Allah. In those days the Dars-i-Nizami contained only one book on Hadith i.e. Mishkat al-Masabih. That is why the students who desired to specialize in Hadith had to study several years more to perfect ³⁶⁾ their knowledge of Hadith.

After completing his Hadith studies in Delhi Mawlana Makhdum returned to Lucknow where he founded a Madrasah, naturally on the pattern of the Madrasah Rahimiyyah, and taught Hadith for more than fifty years. He died in 1229 A.H./1814 A.D.

Another scholar Haji Muhammad Sa'id Afghani is said to have been a close associate and disciple of Shah Waliy Allah. He remained with him for more than thirty years and also accompanied him during his sojourn in the Hijaz. He did not part with the teacher during his life-time. When Shah Waliy Allah died in 1176/1762 Haji Muhammad Sa'id Afghani went to Bans Bareilly where he was invited by the Rohilla leader Hafiz Rahmat Khan. In Bans Bareilly Haji Muhammad Sa'id was appointed teacher of Inayat Khan, the son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Thus, he had an access and say in

the Mohalla Court. He remained in banishment till his death in 1186 A.H. 1774 A.D.

Mawlana Rafi al-Din Muradabadi was also among the noted disciples of Shah Waliy Allah. He studied Hadith with Mawlana Khayr al-Din Surati, a student of Shaykh Muhammad Hayat al-Sinan and then joined the circle of Shah Waliy Allah. But it was the later period of Shah Waliy Allah's life and he could not complete his studies in his teacher's life-time. He had to complete the studies with Shah Abd al-Aziz. He wrote a number of books on Hadith and history. He visited Arabia as well and wrote an account of his travel in the centers of Islam. He had also compiled a collection of Shah Abd al-Aziz's letters addressed to him. ³⁹⁾

Another student of Shah Waliy Allah, Mawlana Muhammad Anwar Kashmiri, was among the noted associates of his teacher. He was very proud of being Shah Waliy Allah's student and used to write the epithet, Waliyyullahi with his name. Shah Abd al-Aziz completed his study of Hadith under him. He motivated Shah Waliy Allah to write several treatises on various subjects. He died in 1187 A.H. 1773 A.D. ⁴⁰⁾

It is unfortunate that the available information is so meager about Shah Waliy Allah's direct students and associates that a thorough research cannot be based on it. The details about Mawlana Nur Allah Budhanvi are not available. We therefore, confine this chapter to the information collected in the preceding paragraphs.

FOOTNOTES

1. Muslim World, Hartford, 1962, Vol. II, Number II, pp. 116-117.
- 1-A. Shah Waliy Allah's well-known biographer, Rahim Bakhsh Dehlawi has also noticed the possible impact of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith on Shah Abd al-Rahim and his Madrasah Rahimiyyah. He considers Madrasah Rahimiyyah only a revival of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq's tradition of the serving and spreading the Prophetic knowledge. Cf. Hayat-i-Waliy, Lahore, 1955, pp. 414-415, 487-488.
2. Shah Waliy Allah, Anfas al-Rarifin, Muftaba i Press, Delhi p. 77.
3. Tadhkirah Ulama i-Hind, Urdu translation, pp. 418-419; also Maqamat-i-Mazhari, pp. 9-24.
4. لا يجبه إلا مؤمن تقى ولا يبغضه إلا منافق شقي Cf. Maktubat-i-Shah Ghulam Ali, quoted in Muhammad Miyan Dihlawi, Ulama-i-Hindi Ka Shandar Madi, Delhi, 1963, Vol I, p. 274.
5. Cf. for example, Mawlawi Bashir al-Din Ahmad, Waqi at-i-awar al-Hukumat Dehli, Vol. II, p. 154.
6. Al-Furqan, op. cit. pp. 251-252
7. Abd al-Halim Chishti, Fawa'id-i-Jami'ah, a commentary of Uialah-i-Naf'ah, Karachi, 1964, pp. 290-291.
8. For fuller details on Mir Zahid Hirawi, Faqir Muhammad Jehlami, Hada'iq al-Hanafiyvah, pp. 428-429; Abd al-Hayy, Muzhat al-Khawatir, Vol. V, p. 371; Abd al-Halim Chishti, op. cit. pp. 289-290.
9. Cf. Muzhat al-Khawatir, Vol. II, p. 406
10. Barakati, Shah Waliy Allah Awar Unka Khandan, pp. 50-52

11. Ibid. pp. 14, 120 citing Ithaf al-Nabin bima Yahtaju ilayh al-Muhaddithu wa'l Faqih, Lahore, 1969, pp. 18-19
12. Cf. Ithaf al-Nabin bima Yahtaju ilayh al-Muhaddithu wa'l Faqih
Lahore, 1969, pp. 18-19 cited in Barakati, op. cit. p. 120.
13. Bawariq al-Wilayah, p. 14; it is a part of Shah Waliy Allah's Anfas al-Arifin.
14. Shah Muhammad Ashiq's father, Shaykh Ubayd Allah was a maternal uncle of Shah Waliy Allah and his first father-in-law. Shah Waliy Allah's first marriage took place during the life time of Shah Abd al-Rahim with Shah Muhammad Ashiq's sister while the second marriage took place in 1157 A.H. after his return from Arabia. Shaykh Ubayd Allah was the son of Shaykh Muhammad, a disciple of Shah Abd al-Rahim.
15. Ahmad Ali Khan Shawq Rampuri, Fihrist Kutub Khanah Rampur, p. 699, cited in Barakati, p. 132.
16. Cf. Fatawa Azizi, utba Muftaba'i Delhi, 1311 A.H. p. 181 cited by Barakati. p. 133.
17. Cf. Al-Khayr al-Kathir, Introduction by Shah Muhammad Ashiq, abridged in Barakati, op. cit. p. 140-141.
18. Ibid.
19. Cf. Barakati, op. cit. pp. 27-28, also fan. No.1 p.28.
20. MS in Barkat Academy, Karachi.
21. An abridged Urdu version of the Introduction is available in Barakati, op. cit. pp. 139-141.
22. Sivasi Maktubat, pp. 68, 70, 72, 73, 24, 75, 76.

23. Some of these letters were produced in a long article in al-Kahim, Hyderabad, Vol.
24. Kalimat-i-Tayyibat, Muqtaba i Press Delhi, 1309 A.H.
25. Cf. Mihr, Ghulam Rasul, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, Vol. I, Lahore, p. 50
26. Quoted by Mihr, op. cit. p. 50
27. Ibid. p. 52-53.
28. Mihr, op. cit. pp. 52-53.
29. Allama Bayhaqi was, perhaps the greatest Shafi'i Muhaddith. He is said to have authored about one thousand books and treatises. His most celebrated work is his Al-Sunan al-Kubra which runs into ten big volumes. He died in 458/1066.
30. For his short biography, Lahori, Khazinat al-Asfiya, Lahore, 1283, pp. 634-635.
31. Faqir Muhammad Jehlami, Hada'iq al-Hanafiyyah, pp. 465-466.
32. Ibid.
33. Jehlami, op. cit. p. 466.
34. For the details on his life and works,
 - a) Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, Khazinat al-Asfiya, op.cit. pp. 649-650.
 - b) Abd al-Qadir Khan, Ilm wa Amal, (Urdu translation) Karachi, 1970, Vol I, pp. 172-173.
 - c) Abd al-Hayy, Nuzhat al-Khawatir, Vol. VII, pp. 112-114.
 - d) Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan Ithaf al-Mubala pp. 240-241
 - d) Halat Masha'ikh-i-Naqshbandiyah Mu'arrididiyyah, pp. 302-30
 - e) Rahman Ali, Tadhkirah Ulema-i-Hind, (Urdu translation)p.1
 - f) Mirza Mazhar Jami-Janan, Kalimat-i-Tayyibat, p. 158.

35. For the details about Dars-i-Nizami and its founder, see Dr. Anwar Hafeez, Islami Nizami-i-Ta'lim, Karachi, 1968, pp. 221-224, 254-255; Hafiz Nadhr Ahmad, Ta'izah-i-Madaris-i-Arabiyyah, Lahore, 1972, Vol II pp. 585-ff. & Akhtar Rahi, Tadhkirah-i-Musannifin-i-Dars-i-Nizami, Lahore, 1975.
36. S.A. Rafiq, op. cit. p. 255.
37. Rahman Ali, Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind, Muhammad Miyan Dhillawi, Ulama-i-Hind Ka Shandar Madi, Delhi, 1957, Vol II, p. 35 f.n.
38. Cf. Al-Rahim, Hyderabad, Vol. III, August, 1965, pp. 218-219.
39. For further details, Jehlami, Hada'id al-Hanafiyyah p. 463, Abd al-Hayy, Nuzhat al-Khawarizmi, Vol. VII, p. 182, Rahman Ali, Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind, pp. 197-198, Siddiq Hasan Khan, Ithaf al-Nubala, p. 251.
40. Abd al-Hayy, op. cit. Vol. VI, p. 286.

THE ROLE OF SHAH WALIY ALLAH'S DESCENDENTS
IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION.

(1)

Shah Waliy Allah had five sons and a daughter. His eldest son, Shaykh Muhammad al-Muhaddith, and a daughter, Amat al-Aziz, were born out of his first marriage with the daughter of his maternal cousin Shaykh Ubayd Allah. The exact date of Shaykh Muhammad's birth is not known. It is, however, guessed that he was born before his father's journey to the Hijaz in 1144 A.H./²⁾ 1731 A.D. It is not known what role he played in spreading the knowledge of his father because the records of his academic pursuits could not be preserved perhaps due to his confinement in a small village like Budhana. Moreover, the brilliant and shining oeuvres of his younger brothers eclipsed his activities. We therefore, confine ourselves to the great and epoch-making chapters of Islamic history written by other four sons of Shah Waliy Allah and their descendants.

Shah Abd al-Aziz was seventeen years old at the death of his father. His early education was started at the hands of the teachers at Madrasah Rahimiyyah. We have already said that after his return from the Hijaz, Shah Waliy Allah had confined himself to writing and training a select group of his disciples and associates and had assigned the teaching work to other Professors³⁾ of the Madrasah. After getting his early education Shah Abd al-Aziz sat at the feet of the giants of the galaxy of scholars produced by his father; Shah Muhammad Ashiq, Mawlana Muhammad Amin Kashmiri⁴⁾ and Mawlana Nur Allah Budhanwi. Shah Waliy Allah himself

supervised the education of his son. Apart from his other teachers in Madrasah Rahimiyyah, Shah Abd al-Aziz also received the close and affectionate attention of his father 'who was most anxious that his mission should not die after his death.⁵⁾ and that his son should play a pioneering role in the furtherance of his mission. Perhaps Shah Waliy Allah was fully aware of the capabilities of his great son; perhaps he also knew that his son would take his message to the farthest corners of Muslim India. That is why he loved him much among all his children. Shah Abd al-Aziz him-self reports that his father never had his meal with the company of his son.⁶⁾

During the last two three years of Shah Waliy Allah's life Shah Abd al-Aziz had the opportunity of joining his father's circle directly. He had already completed his courses of reading prescribed for various completed his courses of reading sciences in Madrasah Rahimiyyah. Now he had to do specialisation in Hadith and Tafsir for which he joined his father's circle and attended his lectures. Shah Waliy Allah's class comprised only the scholar who had a good and solid grounding in Islamic sciences. The⁷⁾ admission of Shah Abd al-Aziz to this circle was a tribute by the father to his son's ability and understanding in Islamics. Shah Abd al-Aziz soon acquired precedence over his colleagues and he⁸⁾ won the acclaim of his teachers and contemporary scholars.

Shah Waliy Allah died on 29 Muharram 1176 A.H/20 August, 1762.⁹⁾ Shah Abd al-Aziz was about seventeen years old at that time. His elder brother, Shah Muhammad had already left Delhi and lived in Budhana. Shah Abd al-Aziz soon rose to the principalship of his father's institution. It was not only the principalship of an educational institution or a college; it was, in fact, the headship of a movement which he had run to a grand end.

q p. 295
30 lines =
21. August

to its end. Now Shah Abd al-Aziz came to the fore and of his illustrious father and of his senior teachers we shall discuss presently.

Shah Abd al-Aziz set himself the many-fold task of advancing the mission of an overall Islamic renaissance. He popularised the thought-pattern of his father; contacted the Muslim masses; spread a vast network of his students who formed nuclei of the Waliy Allahi movement throughout India, and, finally, he awakened the religious consciousness in the Muslim community which in its turn would contribute to the social and political awakening of the people. Shah Waliy Allah mainly concentrated on research and writing, he chose a select group of his disciples to give them extensive training in his tradition and thought-pattern. This emphasis was changed by Shah Abd al-Aziz because his father had already done the necessary research work and he had already produced a bulky literature on his philosophy and ideology. Now, Shah Abd al-Aziz concentrated mainly on teaching and propagating the ideology; he paid comparatively lesser attention to writing. He used to give public sermons, in the form of lectures on Quran on every Tuesday and Friday. These lectures were largely attended by men and women in thousands. This institution was, in fact, introduced by Shah Waliy Allah; but his lectures were attended only by the scholars in a limited number. Shah Abd al-Aziz gave it a mass colour and used it as a means of forming a constructive Muslim popular opinion.

Shah Abd al-Aziz was a good and eloquent orator. His speech was not only animated with scholarship, missionary zeal and sincerity but was also a piece of literary specimen. He had such

command over Urdu language that celebrated poets and literatures of Urdu used to come to him to seek his guidance in matters of literature and poetry.¹²⁾ His opponents also used to attend his lectures; some of them sometimes preplanned to raise objections during the speech but his speeches were so eloquent, fluent, effective and convincing that no one had the courage¹³⁾ to interrupt him. His speeches were always positive and objective; he neither criticised any-one nor discussed any controversial matters. His listeners were always happy and satisfied.

Shah Abd al-Aziz also gathered around him a vast circle of mystic adherents to train them in the Sufi tradition of Islam. It has already been discussed that his father was initiated in practically all the mystic orders prevalent in Muslim India. Shah Abd al-Aziz also inherited from his father the mystic traditions of all these orders. He initiated his disciples in more than one order; he initiated the members of his family, his relatives and especially Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Shah Muhammad Ya qub, Mawlana Isma il Shahid and Mawlana Makhsus Allah in the Qadiriyyah order of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. The members of the elite, lords and the rulers were initiated in the Chishti order of Khvajah Mu in al-Din Chishti. As for the masses he¹⁴⁾ initiated them in Naqshbandi order. Thus, he tried not only to avoid sectarian differences among his followers but also to assimilate in his movement as much number of right-minded spirit as possible.

With a few decades of work, Shah Abd al-Aziz was able to spread his network throughout the sub-continent; every big and notable town and city of India has scholars and teachers of

Shah Abd al-Aziz tradition who formed nuclei of the revivalist work in their respective places. A Muslim scholar from outside India is said to have visited and travelled throughout the sub-continent. He could find no single teacher of Hadith who was not a direct or indirect student of ¹⁵⁾ Shah Abd al-Aziz. This is not an ordinary achievement. Shah Abd al-Aziz reached the climax of the popular esteem and influence to which the greatest scholar of a Muslim society can ever aspire to reach. The Mughal princes and nobles always came to him to seek his guidance and blessings. ¹⁶⁾ And the Mughal monarch and even the English Resident of Delhi, who was the actual ruler at that time, had to pay homage to him. ¹⁷⁾ He had always tried to maintain good relations with the Mughal monarchs. They also helped and cooperated with him in his academic pursuits. The imperial library of the Red Fort was a huge collection of rare books which contained personal collections of scholar-rulers like Humayun and Aurangzeb as well. Whenever, Shah Abd al-Aziz stood in need of any book he could have access to the imperial library; ¹⁸⁾ the books were sent to him.

He continued the tradition of his father by maintaining ^{6/} relations with other Muslim nobles and elites as well. He kept his liaison with ¹⁹⁾ Najib al-Dawlah. His elder brother, Shah Muhammad stayed sometime in Lucknow with Nawab Afdal Khan, the younger brother of Najib al-Dawlah. It seems that he stayed with the Nawab on an assignment from the senior associates of his father. In some of his letters to Akhundzadah Abd al-Rahman, Shah Abd al-Aziz has ²⁰⁾ mentioned his brother's sojourn with the Rohillah Chief. It appears from some of these letters that after the death of Najib al-Dawlah

It could have been felt that some reliable man from Waliy Allah school should accompany Hajir al-Dawlah's brother for some time.

The letter goes:

برادر محراب محمد حضرت شاه محمد صاحب حضور در گنگو توفیق دارند ، غور
ایشان اکثری آیند ، و حضرت ایشان در اینست می شود ، با فعل از چند ماه
همراه نواب افضل خان برادر نجیب الدوله برعم می باشند ، و نواب افضل خان
خدمت عم کنند

"My elder brother, Shah Muhammad, is still staying in Lucknow; his letters are frequently received and his safety is known. These days since a few months he is staying with Nawab Afdal Khan, brother of late Nawab Najib al-Dawlah. Nawab Afdal Khan also looks after him. In this letter the epithet Marhūm (late) has been used for Nawab Najib al-Dawlah (d. 1184/1770) and it also contains greetings from Shah Abd al-Ghani (d. 1202 A.H./1786 A.D) to the addressee. This means, as Barakatī has rightly pointed out, that Shah Muhammad accompanied Nawab Afdal Khan for some time between 1770 and 1786.

Rohillas and the Rohilkhand have been in the forefront of Shah Waliy Allah's movement. Among the disciples and associates of Shah Waliy Allah, those of his son Shah Abd al-Aziz and of other leaders of the movement, the Rohillāhs proved to be more enthusiastic and sincere. A noted scholar of Rohilkhand Mawlana Rafi al-Din Khan Muradabadi (d. 1218 A.H./1803 A.D.) was a student of Shah Waliy Allah's Hadith. He also lived with Shah Abd al-Aziz for a considerable time and did his specialization in Hadith and Tafsir. He also wrote several books and treatises on Hadith History and mysticism. Among other Rohilla scholars of Shah Abd al-Aziz's circle the more notable are Mawlana Salamat Allah Kashfi Badauni

1200-1844), Mawlana Ghulam Jilani Naf at Rampur (d. 1250/1844). The first Mawlana Salamat Allah Kasfi settled in Cownpur and made it the center of his reformist activities. The last, Mawlana Haydar Ali, joined hands with Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and became an enthusiastic supporter of his movement. Akhundzadah Abd al-Rahman to whom we have already referred was also from Rohilkhand.

Apart from all this Shah Abd al-Aziz also added a good deal to the Islamic lore. But among one and a half dozen works left by him about six are of original and creative nature. ²⁶⁾ Bustan al-Muhaddithin and Ujalah-i-Nafi ah (both in Persian) relate to Usul al-Hadith and the History of Hadith. These two works played a leading role in popularizing the Hadith studies in the sub-continent. It would be surprising to learn that Shah Abd al-Aziz's these two works proved to be more effective and popular than his father's works on Hadith. ²⁷⁾ However, the fuller expression of the creative and accumulative genius of Shah Abd al-Aziz manifests ^{in his} in his Fath al-Aziz, an incomplete commentary of the Quran. The work as to come down to us is incomplete. But its depth, its rational and scholarly handling of the problems, vast horizon and its highly literary language and style give it a place of prominence in the select Tafsir literature produced by Muslim genius throughout the century.

It has been generally believed that Shah Abd al-Aziz could write this commentary only upto the Ayah 184 of Surah al-Bqarah and the thirtieth part. But a contemporary scholar of Shah Waliy Allah ²⁸⁾ family has expressed the opinion that Shah Abd al-Aziz had completed the commentary which could not come to public for some reasons. In support of this thesis he has quoted several passages of Tafsir from the Fatawa of Shah Abd al-Aziz which belong to different Surahs of

order. Other than these in unlinked portions. After quoting these passages in his Hatawa Shah Abd al-Aziz says that they have been taken from the manuscript of Fath al-Aziz. It is probable that Shah Abd al-Aziz had completed the first draft of the whole commentary but could not finalize it for publication except the portion.

We now turn to the contribution of Shah Abd al-Aziz in the political field and how he guided the Muslims of India to formulate their political strategy and how he gave a true sense of direction and streamlined the political activities of his co-religionists. But before taking up Shah Abd al-Aziz's role it would not be inappropriate to trace briefly the course of events after the battle of Panipat so that we may be able to have a better understanding of Shah Abd al-Aziz's political vision.

The catastrophic defeat inflicted to the Marathas in the battle of Panipat had cast into dust the long-cherished Maratha dream of establishing a Hindu-pad-Padshahi in the Sub-continent. But this defeat could not extinguish the burning fire of Maratha zeal for their religio-political revivalism. However, the incident of Panipat had turned them into small cinders and groups scattered throughout the Sub-continent. A considerably good time was needed to put their political and military power to naught. This process continued for several decades after the battle.

In the meantime the East India Company had taken the shape of a definite and decisive political and military force in the northern Sub-continent. Within a few years after the battle of Panipat the East India Company was able to persuade the Emperor Shah Alam to grant the diwani (Power of administration and

tax-collection, to the former. Perhaps Shah Alam could not resist the repercussions of this radical step which changed the flow of events altogether. It proved to be a decisive blow to whatever was left of the prestige and resources of the Mughal Empire. He tried to counter the after-effects of this step by boosting up the Marathas. The Marathas around Delhi were led by their energetic and clever leader. He was able to secure a complete hold over the Emperor during the confusion prevailed after the Treaty of Allahbad and the death of Najib al-Dawlah. Mahadaji Sindhia escorted the Emperor, Shah Alam, from Allahbad to Delhi. In recognition of their services, Shah Alam had to appoint the Peshwa as Mirbakhshi, Chief of Treasury, of the Empire. The Marathas made their last effort to expand their political and military power. But inspite of great vicissitudes they could only plunder the areas within their reach. Sindhia also secured for himself the office of Naib Wakil-i-Mutlaq and the command of the Imperial army. He was also entrusted with the administration of the provinces of Delhi and Agra.

The death of Sindhia in 1794 paved the way for the rise of British domination in the capital. The British army finally defeated the Marathas at Aligharh and entered Delhi triumphantly in September 1806. The Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, General Lake, paid his first visit to the Emperor. The British government deemed it suitable for its purposes to maintain the legal fiction of Mughal sovereignty for sometimes more. Although the British Governor-General, on his part, preferred to evade a clear acceptance of Mughal sovereignty, the masses, both Muslims

and non-Muslims, still believed that the country was still a Muslim empire and the Mughal 'Emperor' was its real monarch.

This was the situation when Shah Abd al-Aziz came forward and visualized the problems that were to come in its wake. He was the first sensitive soul to react to the new state of affairs. He issued a Fatwa which can rightly be reckoned among the few most important and epoch-making Fatwas issued in the history of the Sub-continent. He declared that the constitutional position of the Mughal monarch was now a myth; India was no longer Dar al-Islam; the ascendancy of the British power had come to a degree that Islam was no more supreme in the Empire and was replaced in that capacity by the British will and policy and, thus, India had turned into Dar al-Harb. Before the implications and results of this Fatwa are discussed its full text (in English translation) should profitably be reproduced.

"According to the celebrated and trusted books (of Islamic jurisprudence) a territory of Dar al-Islam may be converted into Dar al-Harb on three conditions. Al-Durr al-Mukhtar says: 'A territory of Dar al-Islam can only be converted into Dar al-Harb after three changes, viz.

1. The enforcement of the orders of Ahl al-Shirk (people of Associationism or infidels).
2. Its annexation with the Dar al-Harb and
3. That no Muslim or ^{non-Muslim} Dhimi (protected non-Muslim citizen of Islamic state) can live there under the same peace and security as previously granted to him (by the Islamic state). A Dar al-Harb can also convert into Dar al-Islam with the enforcement of Islamic laws there. Al-Kafi says, 'Dar al-Islam means a state where the

orders of a Muslim ruler are enforced according to the laws of Islam, and that state is under his full and independent authority. By Dar al-Harb we mean a state where the laws of the Shari'ah are not enforced and that state is under the full and independent authority of the infidels?

"In this country (i.e. Indian Sub-continent) the orders of Muslim ruler are not enforced ab initio. On the other hand the orders of the Christian rulers are enforced without any hindrance. By the enforcement of the orders of Kufr we mean that the infidels are fully sovereign in matters like state administration, looking after the masses, collection of levies, taxes and duties on trade and business, the containment of highwaymen and the thieves, adjudication of disputes and the award of punishments and penalties of crimes and torts. Yes, if some of the orders of Islam such as Jumu'ah, Idayn, Adkan, Dhabh al-Baqar (slaughter of cow) are not interfered by them it is on their own choice; but the basis of these things according to them is their indifference and the insignificance (of these things in their eyes). That is why they destroy mosques without hesitation. No Muslim and Dhimmi can enter this city or its suburbs without their permission. They do not interfere with the enterants, the travellers and the traders for their own interests. Even the other elites like Shuja al-Mulk and Wilayati Begum cannot enter this area without their orders, because the supremacy of the Christians is extended from this city (Delhi) to Calcutta. Only on the left and right for example in Hyderabad, Lucknow and Rampur they have not enforced their laws because of their own interests and because of the voluntary submission the rulers of these states?

"As far as the Islamic literature and the conduct of the Sanabak is concerned the same principles are deduced from them. Because Abu Bakr during his caliphate declared Yarbuk to be the Dar al-Harb only on the ground that its inhabitants had refused to pay the Zakah, although the Jumu'ah, Idayn, Adhan and such other commandments of the Shari'ah were still in vogue in Yarbuk. In spite of this and the fact that a good number of Muslims were present there Abu Bakr declared even the suburbs of that area to have turned Dar al-Harb. This declaration remained effective throughout the reign of Abu Bakr. Even the Holy Prophet considered places like Fadak and Khajbar to be the Dar al-Harb in spite of a good number of the Muslims living there. The majority of Wadi al-Qura had already embraced Islam, Fadak and Khajbar were even nearer to Madinah." (33)

Apart from other motives and considerations in issuing this fatwa, it seems that Shah Abd al-Aziz had some economic considerations as well. His collection of Fatawa contains very important information about the economic problems agitating the minds of the thinking Muslims in early nineteenth century. Two most important economic considerations can be summed up here.

The Hindu Banyas (petit traders) have always been accustomed to lend the money on interest and usury. During the Islamic period they could not do this business openly and on the large scale. With the rise of English and specially with their conquest of Delhi, the Hindus started their old practice of usury with full vigour. This created gross economic and financial difficulties for the Muslim traders who considered ~~xxx~~ usury to be the most abominable unlawful practice. The total abstention fr

the transactions involving usury meant virtually an economic boycott of the Hindus. It was next to impossible for a minority community to survive in the Sub-continent with the economic boycott of the overwhelming majority. For the solution of this dreadful and life-and-death problem the Muslim masses resorted to Shah Abd al-Aziz. Shah Abd al-Aziz gave the verdict that India was no more a Dar al-Islam and, therefore, the economic provision of Islamic law could no more be applied to it. India was declared a Dar al-Harb where usury could be tolerated as a necessary evil.³⁴⁾

The second important problem which had a great bearing on the economic life of Muslim peasantry was that of agricultural lands. The Company's government had snatched fertile agricultural lands from the peasants. This land was being distributed gratis or on nominal charges. The Muslims were reluctant as to the legal position of this distribution. If India was still Dar al-Islam then all transaction made by the East India Company was null and void. Because the Company had no legal sanction behind its transactions and disposal of the lands so ~~snatched~~ snatched. But in case India had become a Dar al-Harb then those at the helm of affairs had power to dispose of the property under their possession.

If the position remained ambiguous any more the Muslim peasantry would have suffered a lot. By explaining the actual legal position Shah Abd al-Aziz saved Muslim masses in general and Muslim peasantry in particular from a horrible economic disaster. He gave the ruling that India was no longer a Dar al-Islam and had turned Dar al-Harb; and, ~~therefore~~ therefore, there was no legal hitch in receiving any gift of agricultural land or buying it from the ³⁶⁾ Company's administration.

Another important social and cultural problem which faced the Muslims of the Sub-continent in early nineteenth century was that of Western dress. With the rising domination of the British in the Sub-continent their social and cultural impact on the elites also started to show its signs. One of the most important issues in this connection was that of the dress. People were generally hesitant to adopt some of the Western fashions in view of the prohibition of imitation of non-Muslims.³⁷⁾ The problem was put before Shah Abd al-Aziz. Explaining the Tashabbuh (imitation) he said that Tashabbuh only includes the things which are peculiar to the infidels. It may belong to dress or meals. The Muslims are prohibited to adopt such peculiar things. But the things which are not peculiar to the infidels, though they may use it more and the Muslims may use it less, its adoption is allowed. Likewise, if something is peculiar to the infidels and the Muslims adopt it only in view of comfort or any such interest and not with the intention of Tashabbuh (imitation) then there is no harm in it.³⁸⁾ The collection of Shah Abd al-Aziz's legal rulings (Fatawa) contains several such interesting Fatwas which show his deep insight in Islamic jurisprudence, politics and sociology. A critical analysis of these Fatawa, if made, will prove a fascinating reading.

We now return to the chronological order of our discussion. Shah Abd al-Aziz is reported to have decided to settle in Rohilkhand after the domination of the English in Delhi.³⁹⁾ Perhaps he wished to organize the work in the new situation among a people whom he considered more capable of advancing his cause. But at that time he was already above sixty and he might thought

that his age would not permit him to initiate a popular movement. That is why he seems to have dropped the idea of leaving the center (Delhi) alone and come to the conclusion that he himself should remain in the headquarter looking after the religious and academic matters and assign to some other leader having full qualities of heart, mind and physique the task of initiating a popular and mass movement for the renaissance of Islam and the revival of Dar al-Islam in the Sub-Continent. The fortune of Muslim India did not have to wait for that awaited leader; that genius soon emerged in the person of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. We shall discuss his efforts later in a separate chapter.

Such efforts of Shah Abd al-Aziz and his associates could not go unnoticed by the opponents of Islamic renaissance. They tried to make such efforts a failure and a number of means were adopted to this purpose. To divert the attention of Shah Abd al-Aziz from his main objectives his opponents tried to involve him in meaningless controversies. Once he was offering the Tarawī prayer in the mosque alongwith many other people; the hooligans sent a drunk whore in the mosque who started to sing this couplet with loud voice.

در کوئے نیک نانی مارا گذر نہ دارند
مژ تونی پسندی تغییر کن فضا را

It is by
the hypocrite

This opposition developed into enmity and persecution with the rise of Najaf Khan in Delhi. Najaf Khan was a Shi ah adventurer of Iran who was brought to Delhi by Shah Alam in 1772. He was a very able man and put the administration in Delhi to some order; the Sikhs were repulsed, the Jats suppressed, Agra recovered and the Marathas held at arms' length. At his death he controlled a vast

large territories stretching from the Ganges to the Chambal and
42
from Jaipur to the Garoos, but in spite of his ability and success
in politics and administration his strongly anti-Sunni and pro-
Shi ah policies always gave him discredit. He not only gave undue
considerations to the Shi ahs in matters of promotions, appoint-
ments and assignments but also encouraged and rewarded conversion
43)
from Sunnism to Shi ism. Shah Abd al-Aziz's work for the restit-
ution of orthodoxy to its proper place annoyed Najaf Khan and he
persecuted Shah Abd al-Aziz. He was expelled from Delhi and his
property was confiscated. A well-known and contemporary sufi-
scholar Shah Fakhr al-Din Dihlawi (d.) greatly helped him
on this occasion; he made arrangements for the lodging of Shah Abd
al-Aziz. In the meanwhile the Emperor intervened and Shah Abd
al-Aziz was allowed to come back to the city, his residential
44)
buildings were ~~also restored~~ also restored.

Although Shah Abd al-Aziz was the eldest among his four
full brothers but he survived all of them. His brothers were his
main lieutenants. When he grew older and his health conditions
degenerated, the principalship of the institution was shouldered
45)
by Shah Rafi al-Din who was also the senior-most professor there.
The duty of leading the five time prayers had already been assign
4
to Shah Muhammad Ishaq, the maternal grandson of Shah Abd al-Azi

The three younger brothers of Shah Abd al-Aziz remained his
close lieutenants and right-hand men throughout their lives. The
eldest among these three brothers was Shah Rafi al-Din who was
born in 1163/1749 and acquired knowledge at the feet of his uncle
Shah Muhammad Ashiq, brother Shah Abd al-Aziz and others. In

1765 A.D. he completed his education and the Sanad (degree) and the Maktab-i-Tabarrah (turban) was given to him in a ceremony attended by a number of scholars and saints. ⁴⁷⁾ Soon he was assigned the task of teaching in the Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah and when Shah Abd al-Aziz gave up teaching in the Madrasah his work was also shouldered by Shah Rafi al-Din. The administration ⁴⁸⁾ of the Madrasah was also entrusted to him. He lectured on various sciences especially the rational ones for more than half a century. He had an unparalleled mastery over rational sciences and over mathematics. Shah Abd al-Aziz often said that no mathematician ⁴⁹⁾ could compete him even from amongst the Hindus.

Although Shah Rafi al-Din's career had been mainly of a teacher, his writings also created no less impact. He wrote a number of treatises and tracts for the exposition of his father's thought. The movement of popularising the direct study of the Quran initiated by Shah Waliy Allah carried on by Shah Rafi al-Din also. He dictated ~~and~~ an Urdu commentary of the Surah al-Baqarah and a complete Urdu translation of the Holy Quran to one of his disciples, Sayyid Najaf Ali alias Fawjdar Khan. Shah Rafi al-Din revised the whole translation and the commentary and then permitted its publication. The commentary was published by Sayyid Abd al-Razzaq son of the said Najaf Ali in Matab Naqshbandi in 1272/1856 ⁵⁰⁾. He also wrote an Arabic commentary of a portion of Surah al-Nur ⁵¹⁾ (Ayah al-Nur). He also wrote a parody of a Qasidah of his father ⁵²⁾ on the reality of Nafs.

Shah Waliy Allah's famous Maktab-i-Madani is one of the most important writings of Muslim India. It incited many a scholar to write in its support or refutation. The well-known philosopher

Shah Rafi al-Din wrote a book, Damgh al-Batil, in support of his father and in refutation of Ghulam Yahya Bihari's Risalah. Apart from this Risalah, Shah Rafi al-Din also tried to develop the line of his father of synthesizing Wahdat al-Mujud and Wahdat al-Shuhud. In his masterly work Takmil al-Adhhan he has included a chapter on Tatbiq al-Ara (on the synthesization of opinions); in this chapter he has discussed the problem at length.

Shah Rafi al-Din was rightly considered an expert of rational and philosophical sciences. Whenever Shah Abd al-Aziz needed an expert opinion on any philosophical problem he referred it to Shah Rafi al-Din. His younger brother, Shah Abd al-Qadir, on the other hand, was distinguished for his deep insight and accomplishment in mystic and spiritual sciences. Shah Rafi al-Din died in 1233 A.H./1818 in Delhi. His death was greatly mourned by his brother and teacher, Shah Abd al-Aziz and by the city of Delhi. The Emperor Akbar Shah II deputed his sons prince Salim and prince Jawan Bakht to attend the ceremony and to present the Thana.

Shah Rafi al-Din's younger brother, Shah Abd al-Qadir was born in 1167/1753-4. At the death of his father he was getting his early education in Arabic and was only nine years old. His education was completed at the hands of his celebrated uncle Shah Muhammad Ashiq his brother Shah Abd al-Aziz and other scholars. He was one of the most accomplished saints of his time, and was an austere scholar who passed his entire life in a small room in the premises of Akbarabadi mosque in Delhi. Although he did not write much but

his translation of the Holy Quran into Hindi is considered as still considered the best Urdu translation from the point of view of accuracy and precision. Shah Abd al-Qadir's translation has been acclaimed by a great literature of Urdu language as an authority on Urdu language, while Shah Rafi al-Din's translation is useful for the solution of grammatical problems of the Quran. His translation of the Holy Book not only greatly contributed to the popularization of the Holy Quran and its teachings among the masses. It also caused many a subsequent Urdu translation made by different scholars. This translation was completed in 1205 A.H./ 1791; Mudih-i-Quran موضح قرآن is its title which contains letters carrying the numbers which correspond to the year of completion.

Shah Abd al-Qadir was, perhaps, the most successful and popular teacher of Madrasah Rahimiyyah after Shah Abd al-Aziz. His pupils are so much in number that to mention even the names of the would require a large space. In subsequent chapters mention will be made of some of his pupils. The fourth brother, Shah Abd al-Ghani, was the youngest but died before all his brothers. He was a perfect Sufi and had a deep insight in esoteric experience. His academic and scholarly career seems to be ordinary because no details of his teaching have been reported by the historians and biographers. His son, Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il Shahid, however, reached the climax of scholarly tradition of Muslim India. His works and efforts shall be dealt with later. Shah Abd al-Ghani was born in 1171 A.H./1758 A.D. and died in 1203 A.H./1789 at the young age of thirty two.

Shah Abd al-Qadir died in 1239 A.H. 1824 A.D. None of his four brothers could survive him as all of them died before him. He was, therefore, succeeded by his maternal grandson, Shah Muhammad Ishaq who was the son of Shaykh Muhammad Afdal, the son-in-law of Shah Abd al-Aziz, Shah Muhammad Ishaq was born in 1196 A.H. 1782 A.D. He got education with Shah Abd al-Aziz and Shah Abd al-Qadir and was graduated from the Madrasah Rahimiyyah in 1216 A.H./1802 A.D. at the age of twenty. He was soon included in the teaching faculty of the Madrasah and was assigned the teaching of Hadith — a subject which he taught to 'students of modern thinking' for twenty years during the life-time of his guide and master Shah Abd al-Aziz and under his special care and patronage. After the death of Shah Abd al-Aziz he succeeded him to the Rectorate of the Madrasah Rahimiyyah and also to the headship of the movement in Delhi. His students are so larger in number that the chain of discipleship to Shah Waliy Allah mainly runs through him. An overwhelming majority of the scholars of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent are linked with Shah Waliy Allah through the golden chain of Shah Muhammad Ishaq and Shah Abd al-Aziz.

Shah Muhammad Ishaq is said to have authored a number of books which were popular among the people of his area. These works included an Urdu translation of the well-known collection of Hadith, Mishkat al-Masabih, a small treatise on the branches of Faith, Shu'ab al-Iman. Two other small works, Masa'il-i-Arba'in and Mi'at al-Masa'il have also been attributed to him. But some writes dispute their attribution to Shah Muhammad Ishaq.

Shah Muhammad Ishaq's decision to migrate before his migration to Hijaz. He feared lest the sons of his mother's uncles dispute his rights to the ownership or management of the Madrasah. He preferred to build his own premises and shifted the campus of the Madrasah there. Thus the campus was divided in two premises which continued to work till Shah Muhammad Ishaq's migration to the
66) Hijaz. By the beginning of the Sixth decade of thirteenth century of Hijrah Shah Muhammad Ishaq began to get depressed over the
degenerating religious and spiritual conditions of India. The vigorous religio-political Islamic revivalist movement launched by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid under the guidance and directions of Shah Abd al-Aziz had already fizzled out and the Sayyid had already sacrificed his life alongwith a number of his associates in the tragic defeat of Balakot in 1246 A.H./1831 A.D. Now there seemed to be no hope for initiating any further movement on popular level. He, therefore, decided to leave India altogether and migrate to Hijaz. When he finally decided to move to Arabia along with his family and other close relatives, the people of Delhi including the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, earnestly urged him to review his decision and stay on in India. But he was so depressed over the situation in the Sub-continent and so eager to settle down permanently in the vicinity of House of God that he
67) declined to accede to their repeated requests and left for Arabia in 1256 A.H./1841 A.D.

In Arabia he settled in Mecca where he continued the long traditions of his forefathers of the service of Hadith. His presence in Mecca was welcomed by the academic circles of Mecca and the students of Hadith availed themselves of the opportunity to listen to his lectures on Hadith. He also patronised the

students especially those came from India and always have their financial help as well. He himself suffered from financial difficulties due to this help but he never cared. After about five years' stay in the Holy city Shah Muhammad Ishaq died in 1262 A.H./1846 A.D. ^{67-A)}

Shah Muhammad Ishaq's migration to Arabia put an end to the long, brilliant and continuous academic-spiritual tradition of the Madrasah Rahimiyyah. The central and unified seat of learning was split into two different centers with different traditions and out-look. Among the innumerable disciples and students of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, two succeeded him: Miyan Nadhir Nasayn Muhaddith Dihlawi and Shah Abd al-Ghani al-Mujaddidi. Both of them established separate centers of learning and continued the tradition of their masters in their own respective ways. The disciples and adherents of both the celebrities try to prove that their teacher was the sole successor of Shah Muhammad Ishaq and the only inheritor of his tradition, they even challenge the validity of the others' claim to the succession of Shah Muhammad Ishaq.

Throughout his life and in all his activities, Shah Muhammad Ishaq was accompanied and assisted by his younger brother Shah Muhammad Ya qub. He was born on 28th Dhu'l Hajjah 1200 A.H. 1786 and got his education in Madrasah Rahimiyyah. Shah Abd al-Aziz and Shah Rafi al-Din were his main teachers. After completing the education he also joined the teaching staff of the Madrasah Rahimiyyah. ⁶⁹⁾ He taught in the Madrasah for about forty years till 1258 A.H./1842 A.D. the year in which he left his home country and migrated to Arabia along with his elder brother and other family

Members. He lived twenty four years in London and died there on 1701
11 Muh' 1262 A.H./1861 A.D.

He was one of the big and most enthusiastic supporters of the Jihad movement. His position, along with his elder brother Shah Ishaq, was that of the resident chief of the movement in Delhi. He sent the volunteers to Sayyid Ahmad and arranged funds and other supplies to the Mujahidin. They also served as liaison center of the workers scattered throughout India and the headquarters in the Frontier area. Once he desired to migrate to Sind and then to join with the Mujahidin. He was the last noted scholar of his family who combined in him the scholarly depth and spiritual accomplishment of his family. The number of his students and disciples exceeds thousands. They included the celebrities like Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Mawlana Muzaffar Husain Kandhlawi, Haji Imdad Ali Shah Muhajir Makki, Mawlana Muhammad Oasim Nanawtawi, Mawlana Shaykh Muhammad Thanwi and others. We shall discuss their services in subsequent pages.

Although the life of Mawlana Shah Muhammad Ishaq and his brother, Shah Muhammad Yaqub forms the last chapter in the history of the Madrasah Rahimiyyah, yet some of the later members of this family tried to revitalize its activities but it was not possible for them; their lives can be an epilogue to this history.

Shah Rafi al-Din had six sons. Among them Shah Makhsus Allah and Shah Muhammad Musa became known. These two shouldered the responsibility of running the Madrasah after Shah Muhammad Ishaq's migration to Arabia. Shah Muhammad Musa was born in 1770's. The details of his education are not available. He must have got his education with his father and great uncles, Shah Abd al-Aziz and Shah Abd al-Qadir; Like other male members of his family he also

joined the Madrasah as a teacher. After the migration of Shah
Muhammad Ishaq to Azhar he became the Professor-in-Charge and
rector of whatever was left of the Madrasah; but he could not
work long in this capacity because he died on 12 Rajab 1259 A.H./
1843. One year after Shah Ishaq's migration. It is strange that
Shah Muhammad Musa was one of the most bitter critics of the Jiha
movement launched by Sayyid Shahid. He even went to the extent
that he wrote several treatises in refutation of Mawlana Muhammad
Isma'il Shahid. When Mawlana Fadl-i-Haqq Khayrabadi led a ^{by} campaign
against Mawlana Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his revivalist movement,
Shah Muhammad Musa who among his staunch supporters. In 1240 A.H.
1824 A.D. a theological debate took place between Mawlana Fadl-i-
Haqq's party and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's right hand-man Mawlana Abd
al-Hayy Budhanwi in the Jami mosque of Delhi. Shah Musa was also
present on the occasion and took part in the debate from Mawlana
Fadl-i-Haqq's side.

His younger brother, Shah Makhsus Allah also got education
and was initiated in mysticism in the Madrasah Rahimiyyah at the
hands of Shah Abd al-Aziz and his other uncles and his father. He
taught Hadith and Tafsir in the Madrasah and jointly shouldered the
responsibility of running the institution with his brother, Shah
Musa. After Shah Musa's death he remained lonely to run the
Madrasah. Perhaps his brother's death greatly depressed him
because soon he gave up the teaching and adopted a life of
asceticism and seclusion. He passed his remaining life in worship
and mystic experience. He died in 1271 A.H./1856 just one year
before the great conflagration of 1857. In that year the Madrasah
was plundered and looted during these disturbances.

After about fifty years of the close of the glorious chapter of academic history of the Muslim sub-continent, an enthusiastic member of this family, Sayyid Ahmad Zahir al-Din Waliyullahi tried to restore the old position and prestige of his family by reviving the Madrasah. But he was not able to successfully execute his programme due to formidable financial difficulties. He was paternal grandson of one Sayyid Nasir al-Din, a maternal grandson of Shah Rafi al-Din. Mawlawi Sayyid Abd al-Hayy had met him during his academic tour of Delhi and its suburbs.

Sayyid Ahmad Zahir al-Din's scheme was to revive the Madrasah by publishing and popularising the works of Shah Waliy Allah and his descendents. He established a press named Matba-i-Ahmadi after the name of Shah Waliy Allah and an Islamic bookshop named Dukan-i-Islamiyyah. The press and the book-shop seem to have been established in 1301-2/1884-5. The press continued to work for about two decades and was able to publish during this period at least twenty-five books of Shah Waliy Allah and his family members in original or in translation. When the press seemed to be running successfully Sayyid Ahmad Zahir al-Din announced his decision of the re-establishment of the Madrasah. In 1308, he published Shah Waliy Allah's Fuyud al-Haramayn he had already published eleven books and had strengthened his press. In his publisher's note to Fuyud al-Haramayn, he said, "I do not have enough funds at my disposal to enable me to start teaching in the Madrasah and to support the students. I, therefore, wished to bring out this long-preserved and invaluable treasury and show it the light of

the way by publishing it. Its profit will go to the Madrasah.⁸¹
But inspite of all this arrangement the Madrasah could not be
successfully revived. In 1312 A.H./1894 A.D. when Mawlana Abd
al-Hayy saw Sayyid Ahmad Zahir al-Din the Madrasah had already
82)
failed. In this work Mawlawi Sayyid Ahmad was later on assisted
by one Mawlawi Sayyid Abd al-Ghani Kaloni who continued to
publish Shah Waliy Allah's works even after the death of his
83)
colleque Mawlawi Sayyid Ahmad.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ashiq Iftikhar Khan, Tadhkirat al-Kashid, p. 30.
2. After Shah Waliy Allah's death, he moved to Budhana and stayed there till his death in 1208 A.H./1703-4 A.D.; he was buried in the compound of the Jami Mosque of the town. Cf. Nuzhat al-Khawariz, Vol. VI, p. 422, if his age is supposed to be near 65 he must have born a few years before his father's departure for the Hajaz.
3. Shah Abd al-Aziz Malfuzat, (Urdu ~~trans~~ translation), Karachi, 1960 p. 95.
4. Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Shah Waliy Allah Ki Siyasi Tahrik, Lahore 1965, p. 67; Also Maqalat-i-Tariqat, p. 28.
5. Cf. I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, 2nd Edition, Karachi, 1974, pp. 134-135.
6. Shah Abd al-Aziz, Malfuzat, op. cit. p. 40.
7. Rahim Bakhsh Dilawi, Hayat-i-Waliy, pp. 589-590.
8. Ibid.
9. Shah Abd al-Aziz op. cit. p. 95
10. Shah Abd al-Aziz was born in 1150 his name Ghulam Halim carried the year of his birth according to alphabetical numbers.
11. Maqalat - Tariqat, p. 29.
12. E.g. Muhammad Husain Azad, Aab-i-Hayat, Ed. Tabassum Kashmiri, Lahore, 1970, pp. 360-361.
13. Muhammad Miyah Dihlawi, Ulama-i-Hind Ka Shandar Madi, Vol. II, Delhi, 1957, p. 48.
14. Maqalat-i-Tariqat, pp. 28-29.
15. Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Shah Waliy Allah Aur Unki Siyasi Tahrik Lahore, 1965, p. 87.

1. Shah Abd al-Aziz, op. cit. p. 1-12, 110, 111, 112-113, 245-252, 264.
17. Ibid. pp. 225-226, 227, 151-152.
18. E.g. Mawlana Abd al-Kayy, Dihli Aur Uske Araf, p. 35.
19. Shah Abd al-Aziz, Malfuzat, op. cit. p. 156.
20. Quoted in Barakatī, op. cit. p. 148 citing, Shah Abd al-Aziz, Fada'il-i-Sahabah wa Ahl al-Bayt, Lahore, pp. 262-263.
21. Ibid.
22. We have already seen that the last years of Shah Muhammad passed in Phulat and Budhana and, thus, it may be deduced that his sojourn in Rohilla court was in early 1770s.
23. Faqir Muhammad Jehlami, Hada'id al-Hanafiyyah, p. 463; also, Ayyub Qadiri, Introduction to Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan Shahid, p. 3
24. Jehlami, op. cit., p. 463.
25. Ayyub Qadiri; op. cit. p. 4
26. The following works are attributed to Shah Abd al-Aziz; II. Bustan al-Muhaddithin, 2. Uialah-i-Nafisah 3. Sirr al-Shahadtayn 4. Tuhfah-i-Ithna Ashariyyah 5. Fath al-Aziz 6. Aziz al-Iqtibas 7. Mulfuzat, 8. Risalah-i-Balaghah 9. Wasilah-i-Nijat, 10. Mizah al-Kalam, 11. Tahqiq al-Ru'ya, 12. Sayr al-Talil 13. Hashiyah Mir Zahid 14. Hashiyah Mir Zahid Mulla Jalal 15. Hashiyah Mir Zahid's Sharh Mawaqif 16. Hashiyah Sharh Hidayah al-Hik

27. Shah Waliy Allah's main works on Hadith are in Arabic and Persian commentaries of Imam Malik's Muwatta. These two works remained in manuscript form till 1356 when the Rahimiyyan press of Lucknow published them. Even after that they could not be more popular than Shah Abd al-Aziz's two works mentioned in the text. As far as the present writer could ascertain these Arabic works of Shah Waliy Allah have only been published twice while the Persian one has yet appeared only once. Shah Abd al-Aziz's on Hadith, on the other hands, have been published several times and have also been translated into Arabic and Urdu.
28. Mawlana Hakim Muhammad Anis Siddiqi Phulati; he is a direct descendent of Shah Muhammad Ashiq.
29. Barakati, Op. cit. Introduction pp. 17-20.
30. For some details, A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I pp. 186 ff.
31. Ibid. pp. 191-192.
32. For an interesting discussion on this cold war of wits, A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. II, pp. 3-11 et seq.
33. We have omitted the last paragraphs of the Fatwa because they do not deal with the subject under discussion directly. The text has been taken from Shah Abd al-Aziz, Fatawa Aziziyyah. (Urdu translation), Hyderabad Deccan, 1313. pp. 51-53.
34. Shah Abd al-Aziz, Fatawa Azizi, Vol. I, pp. 33-34.
35. For a fuller discussion regarding the legal view of Islam on this point see, Sarakhsi, Al-Mabsut, Vol. X pp. 52-77.

36. Muhammad al-Aziz, Fatawa Azizi, (Urdu translation entitled Surur-i-Azizi) Majidi Press, Compur, n.d. Vol I, p. 199; cf. Mushir al-Haqq, Musalman Awr Secular Hindustan, Delhi. 1973, p. 15.
37. The reference here is to the famous hadith quoted by a number of Muhaddithun, including Abu Da'ud Al-Sunan, Kitab al-Libas; 4, Ahmad ibn Hambal, Al-Musnad Vol.2 p.50 and Tirmidhi, Al-Jami Abwab at Istidhan: 7; the famous wording is: من تشبه بقوم فهو منهم (whosoever immitates some alien people, verily he is one of them), Tirmidhi's wording is من تشبه بغيرنا فليس منا (who immitables others does not belong to us.)
38. Shah Abd al-Aziz, Fatawa Azizi, (Urdu translation entitled Surur-i-Azizi) Majidi Press, Compur, n.d. Vol I, p. 199; cf. Mushir al-Haqq, Musalman Awr Secular Hindustan, Delhi. 1973, p. 15.
39. Muhammad Ayub Qadiri, Introduction to Nawab Khan Bahadur Kh Shahid, pp. 3-4.
40. Shah Abd al-Aziz, Maifuzat, pp. 116-117.
41. Diwan-i-Hafiz, Tehran, 1345 (Solar). p. 4
42. Vincent Smith, The Oxford History of India. 3 Edition: Oxford 1958, p. 486
43. Oureshi, I.H. Ulema in Politics. pp. 130-131.
44. Manaqib-i-Fakhriyyah, p. 31, for the biographical note on Shah Fakhr al-Din, Nizami, Khaliq Ahmad, Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Ghisht, pp. 460-529.
45. ^{9/}Brakati, op. cit. p. 156.
46. Sialkoti, Muhammad Ibrahim Mir, Tarikh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith p. 42

47. Barakati, p. 156 quoting a letter of Shah Abd al-Aziz to Shah Abd al-Hal Barakati, Cf. Barakati al-Jadid, Matba Matla al-Anwar, Saharanpur, 1304 A.H.
48. Barakati, op. cit.
49. Ibid. pp. 156-157.
50. Cf. Barakati, pp. 158-159.
51. It has been edited and published by Mawlana Abd al-Hamid Sawati, Gujranwala, 1964/1382.
52. Barakati, p. 161;
53. Damgh al-Batil has been published in 1976 in Gujranwala; it has also been edited by Mawlana Abd al-Hamid Sawati.
54. Takmil al-Adhhan was edited and published by Mawlana Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan.
55. Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Shah Waliy Allah Awar Unki Siyasi Tahrik, p. 69.
56. Shah Abd al-Aziz, Malfuzat, (Urdu translation), Karachi, 1960 pp. 159-161
57. Ibid.
58. Barakati, p. 164.
59. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Athar al-Sanadid, Lucknow, 1895, Vol. IV, p. 55.
60. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Tadhkirah-i-Ahl-i-Dihli (being the fourth chapter of Athar al-Sanadid) Edited by Qadi Ahmad Miyan Akhtar Junagarhi, Karachi, 1965, p. 17

” مولوی عبد القادر صاحب کا اردو ترجمہ کلام اللہ کا اردو لغات
 کے لیے ایک بڑی سند ہے۔ اور مولوی رفیع الدین صاحب کا ترجمہ تراکیب نوں
 کے لیے بہت عمدہ دستاویز ہے۔“

62. Hayat Bad al-Mamat, Tadhkirah-i-Tarikh, p. 11.
63. Barakati, op. cit. pp. 165-166.
64. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, op. cit. p. 122.
64. نه موفعات يتبعها على عهد نيك اسوات, Muhammad Muhsin Tirmidhi, Al-Yani al-Jani fi Asanid Abd al-Ghani, Siddiqi Press, Bareilly, 1286-7 A.H. p. 87.
65. Cf. Barakati, op. cit. p. 168.
66. Bashir al-Din Dihlawi, Maqat al-Dar al-Hukumat Dihli, Vol. II, p. 167.
67. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Tadhkirah-i-Ahl-i-Dihli, pp. 122-123.
- 67-A. Ibid. p. 123.
68. See for instance, Mawlawi Rahman Ali, Tadhkirah-Ulama-i-Hindi, Urdu translation by Muhammad Ayyub Qadiri, Karachi, 1961, pp. 409-410 f.n. Hayat Bad al-Mamat, being a biography of Miyan Madhir Husayn Muhaddith Dihlawi, pp. 38-39 f.n. Muhammad Ibrahim Mir Siyalkoti, Tarikh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Lahore, 1953, p. 427.
69. Barakati, op. cit. p. 169.
70. Ibid.
71. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Jama at-i-Muḥahiddin, pp. 54; also Barakati, op. cit. pp. 171-172.
72. Barakati, op. cit.
73. Barakati, op. cit. pp. 182-183.
74. Muhammad Ayyub Qadiri, translator, Tadhkirah Ulama i-Hind, (Urdu translation), p. 592; Mawlana Fayd Ahmad Bada uni, Fayd-i-Am, p. 144.

71. Barakati, op. cit. p. 11.
72. Ibid.
73. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Tadhkirah-i-Ahl-i-Dihli, p. 14.
74. Bashir al-Din Ahmad, Waqi at-i-Dar al-Hukumat Dihli
Vol. II p. 589-590.
75. Nawlawi Abd al-Haqq, Dihli Aar Uske Araf. p. 64 ff.
76. Barakati, pp. 185-193.
77. Shah Waliy Allah, Fuyud. al-Haramayn, published's note
p. 106, Delhi, 1308, quoted in Barakati, pp. 193-194.
78. Abd al-Hayy, op. cit. p. 66.
79. Barakati, pp. 195-196.

The College of Shah Waliy Allah

We have already noticed that Shah Waliy Allah's father, Shah Abd al-Rahim had founded a college in Delhi where he had introduced a reformed educational system. Shah Abd al-Rahim was an accomplished Sufi and equally a scholar of note. He wanted to organize the activities of the college in such a way as to be able to produce Muslim scholars of deep learning and well acquainted with and trained in the thought and practice of orthodox Muslim Sufis. The Naqshbandiyyah order had a deep impression on Shah Abd al-Rahim. He had inherited Naqshbandi traditions from several avenues. His maternal grand-father, Shaykh Rafi al-Din Muhammad was a direct disciple of Khawjah Baqi Billah and enjoyed a close association with him. He ¹⁾ must have influenced his grandson and must have contributed in the formation of the outlook of the child. After completing his education, Shah Abd al-Rahim joined the mystic circle of Khawjah Khurd, the celebrated son of Khawjah Baqi Billah and his successor who initiated the young scholar into mystic ²⁾ training. ³⁾

The Madrasah Rahimiyyah came to be known as such after the name of the scholar-saint, its founder. Shah Abd al-Rahim introduced a new curriculum and a new system of education which was based on his own experience. This system was further reformed by Shah Waliy Allah. In his autobiographical essay, Shah Waliy Allah has given some important details of the curriculum of the college. Even a brief glance over this curriculum will show that the college ⁴⁾ concentrated on the Holy Quran and the Hadith. Although the Hadith was much popularised by Shaykh Abd al-Haqq in Northern India, it was yet in need of further popularization. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq

... Shah Waliy Allah ... the ... Shah Waliy Allah ...
... used as the text-book in his seminary. Shah Waliy Allah
selected Kuwatta of Imam Kalif for inclusion in the curriculum.
It was Shah Waliy Allah's father, Shah Abd al-Rahim who had⁵⁾
already included the text of the Quran in the Curriculum. Previous
only a few marginal commentaries were served as text books and⁶⁾
the direct study of the original text of the Quran was neglected.

The college soon invited the attention of scholars and
students all over India; it achieved the position and popularity
as the foremost center of education and learning in the Sub-
continent. Shah Waliy Allah still used the same premises for the
college which were used by his father Shah Abd al-Rahim. The
Mughal monarch Muhammad Shah felt that the building was insuffi-
cient for such a big institution; he donated a grand building to
house the college. In the new premises the college "acquired the⁷⁾
position and prestige of a University. It continued functioning
till great conflagration of 1857. During the disturbances of
1857 the college was plundered, the surrounding (Hindu)
population took away even the planks of its roofs and doors, the
land and the remnants of buildings were occupied by different
people. The building was so spacious that after its destruction
the space provided the room for a residential sector or alley
which came to be named after Shah Abd al-Aziz and was known as⁸⁾
Mahallah Shah Abd al-Aziz as late as 1920s.

Shah Waliy Allah headed this institute more than four
decades. After his return from the Hijaz he assigned the teaching
work to other teachers and he himself devoted to supervision and
writing. The teachers were mainly his own students and the

products of the discipline. He had trained scholars in various disciplines and assigned to each teacher his own field of specialization. Shah Waliy Allah was endowed with an extraordinary capability of organization and punctuality; he was consistent and devoted towards "his self-imposed mission. His son Shah Abd al-Aziz reports that his father used to sit for his work at sun-rise and continued to work till after midday; during these hours he neither changed his posture for rest nor scratched his body nor spate even once during his work throughout the day.¹⁰⁾

Other teachers of Madrasah Rahimiyyah during the life-time of Shah Waliy Allah included Shah Muhammad Ashiq and Khwajah Muhammad Amin Waliy Allahi.¹¹⁾ The former, Shaykh Muhammad Ashiq was a brother-in-law and a close friend associate and disciple of Shah Waliy Allah. Being a son of Shah Waliy Allah's maternal uncle Shaykh Ubayd Allah, he was a orony of Shah Waliy Allah since his childhood.¹²⁾ Both of them got their education together and both of them accompanied each other to Arabia for further education and spiritual training.¹³⁾

Madrasah Rahimiyyah had some affiliated institutions as well. They were established by the students and disciples of Shah Waliy Allah. These were the centers of further dissemination of Islamic education imparted by Shah Waliy Allah. They also served as nuclei of reform and revivalist activities in their respective areas. The foremost among such affiliated centers was established at the Da'irah (circle) of Shah Ilm Allah, a disciple, student and successor of Sayyid Muhammad Adam Binnori in 1050 A.H./1640 A.D.,¹⁴⁾ on the bank of river Sai. He was a pious man respected for

his strict observance of the Sunnah. This circle was converted into a nucleus of Shah Waliy Allah's movement by Sayyid Abu Sa'id, a descendent of Shah Ilm Allah. After completing his education in his home town Sayyid Abu Sa'id went to Delhi where he joined Madrasah, Rahimiyyah. After acquiring advanced religious education and spiritual training at the hands of Shah Waliy Allah he was awarded with the khilafah. Shah Waliy Allah held him in high esteem and expected good prospects for him. After the death of the teacher, Sayyid Abu Sa'id kept close contacts and correspondence with his descendants and successors, especially with Shah Muhammad Ashiq and Shah Abu al-Aziz.¹⁶⁾

Sayyid Abu Sa'id was very dear to Shah Waliy Allah and always enquired about his health and prosperity. The student-disciple also in turn kept the relations most cordial by sending presents to the maker.⁽¹⁷⁾ The nature of their relations and the esteem conceived for him by Shah. Each letter is begun with honorific and illustrious titles.¹⁸⁾ Apart from Sayyid Abu Sa'id other members of his family also contributed to strength these historical and academic ties between the two families. A close relative of Sayyid Abu Sa'id, Sayyid Mu'man also joined the Madrasah Rahimiyyah during the last years of Shah Waliy Allah's life and he soon achieved a special attention of the master even during the last span of his life.¹⁹⁾ These ties were immortalised by the emergence of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid from the nucleus of Da'irah Shah Ilm Allah. In Sayyid Ahmad, Shah Waliy Allah's movement found its most prominent, enthusiastic and efficient leader by whom the movement entered into its practical, political and

popular phase. According to Mawlana Ubayd Allah Sindhi, the Madrasah of Mulli Muhammad Mu'in in Thatta was also a branch of Madrasah Rahimiyyah.²¹ But it seems to be difficult to support this claim with the available evidence. His contact with Shah Waliy Allah was short-lived. His ideas on Taqlid however, seem²² to be influenced by Shah Waliy Allah. In Lucknow, Mawlana Muhammad Makhdum ran an institution where he lectured on all Islamic Sciences in general and the Hadith in particular. The Mawlana was one of the disciples of Shah Waliy Allah.²³ Apart from such organized works, a number of Shah Waliy Allah's students advanced his educational mission in their individual capacity. The role of Shah Waliy Allah's students and the Ulama who came into association with his tradition has been discussed in a separate chapter of this work.

Shah Abd al-Rahim was the first scholar in the history of Muslim India who revolted against the indifference and negligence of the Quran. Prior to his age the Quran had no significant place in the curricula of Muslim education. The child was merely taught how to recite the letters of the Scripture without understanding its meaning. On later stages of education the student could only study any commentary from the point of view of the particular science in which he specialized. Students of Fiqh studied only the commentaries written from the Fiqh point of view; students of mystic dispositions were interested in mystic exegeses of the Quran. Shah Abd al-Rahim changed this state of affairs; he laid basic emphasis on the text of the Quran and taught it as a text-book. Without giving any attention to the commentaries, the students first learnt what the Quran said and

what was his message and programme of life. This created in the students a 'Quranic' point of view from which they studied all other sciences. This method was further developed by Shah Waliullah. He reorganized the curriculum on the bases of Quran and Hadith. The role of the Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah and its great founder in the popularization of the Quran and the Hadith has been discussed at some length at a suitable place in this work. Shah Abd al-Aziz succeeded his father in the principalship of Madrasah Rahimiyyah. He ran the institution for more than six decades. Shah Abd al-Aziz had no male issue; all his brothers passed away in his life-time. He was succeeded by his maternal grandson, Shah Muhammad Ishaq. He shifted the Madrasah to new premises built by himself for certain family reasons. In 1256 A.H./1840 Shah Muhammad Ishaq migrated to the Hijaz leaving the principalship for his uncles Mawlawi Mahsusa Allah and Mawlawi Muhammad Musa, sons of Shah Rafi al-Din. When they were died in 1272/1856 no one could succeed them to look after the institution. Mawlawi Muhammad Musa had left a small son, Abd al-Salam who could not get any education; he was unable to carry on the task of his ancestors. In fact the migration of Shah Muhammad Ishaq to Arabia had put an end to the popular character of the Madrasah. His successors could only maintain its name and owed their nominal success to the name and fame of its great founders. During the great conflagration of 1857, the buildings were plundered and the land was taken into possession by local people. Mawlana Abd al-Ha saw the remnants of the Madrasah during his study tour of Delhi and its suburbs in 1312/1894; the scene reminded the Mawlana the Quranic verses All Ruins to its roots how shall Allah Bring of ever to life!

That has been said here!

1. A History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, p. 433.
2. Rahim Dakhsh, hayat-i-Waliy, pp. 115-118
3. Ibid. pp. 221-cit seq; 240-246
4. Shah Wali Allah, Al-Juz. al-Latif fi Tarkamat al-Abd al-Da'if,
5. Ibid.
6. For fuller discussion, Abd al-Hayy, Al-Thaqafat al-Islamiyya Fi l Hind, Damascus, 1958.
7. Mawlavi Bashir Ahmad, Maqat al-Dar al-Hukumat Delhi, Vol 2, p.286.
8. Ibid. Vol.2, p. 286 vol. 3, p. 167.
9. Shah Abd al-Aziz Kalafuzat (Urdu) p. 95
10. Ibid. p. 100
11. Bashir Ahmad, op. cit. Vol p. 587.
12. Shah Waliy Allah, Tafhimat Vol. I, pp. 125-126
13. Muhsin Tirinti Al-Yani al-Gani fi Asanid Abd al-Ghani. op. cit. p. 136.
14. For details, Mihr, Ghulam Rasul, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, Vol. I, pp. 36-39.
15. Ibid., pp. 40-45
16. Ibid. p. 50
17. Cf. Al-Rahim, May, 1965, p. 67
18. These letters were compiled by Mawlana Nasim Ahmad Faridi Amrohwi and were published in monthly al-Rahim in various instalments; cf. Al-Rahim, Hyderabad, Nos. May, June, July, August, 1965, vols. II, III.
19. Mihr, op. cit. p. 50

20. See infra, Chapter entitled, "Shah Waliy Allah: Impact upon The Sindh Movement".
21. Sindhi, Shah Waliy Allah ki Siyasi Tahrik, p. 60
22. See for details his Dirasat al-Labih, edited by Abd al-Rashid Nu mani, Karachi, 1957.
23. Rahman Ali, Tadhkirah Ulama-i-Hind, Nawalkishore p. 223.
24. Ubayd Allah Sindhi, quoted in Al-Rahim, pp. 14-15, September 1963, Vol I.
25. For his contribution, infra.
26. Bashir Ahmad, Maqalat, Vol II. p. 167.
27. Ibid. pp. 173-174.
28. Abd al-Hayy, Dilli Aur Uske Atraf, p. 64

SHAH WALIY ALLAH'S INFLUENCE ON
DR. AL-ULOI, DEOBAND AND OTHER AFFILIATE
INSTITUTIONS OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION

The failure of the great war of Independence 1857 produced two fold effects. It demoralized a good deal of thinking people and made them to fully and unconditionally submit before the English supremacy in every sphere of human life. On the other hand, it prompted a number of other sensitive souls to rethink the entire situation and to find out new ways and means to meet the requirements of new state of affairs. The divines who resorted to arms in 1857 now turned their attention to religious education and intellectual training. The foremost among them were those who belonged to the Waliy Allah's tradition. It was within a decade after the collapse of struggle in later 1858 that the foremost institution of Muslim religious education was founded in Deoband. It was declared to be the successor of Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah of Shah Waliy Allah which had ceased to exist practically after the emigration of Shah Muhammad Ishaq. The ~~sack~~ sack of all the other affiliated institutions of Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah in 1857-58 necessitated a quick action to safeguard and preserve the Islamic education in the new socio-political milieu of the sub-continent.

It was on Thursday the 15th Muharram 1283 A.H./1867 A.D. that some thinking and sensitive souls got together in Deoband and discussed the new situation. The outcome was the decision of the establishment of a Madrasah ~~in~~ ^{at} the town. Necessary funds were collected and the Madrasah was inaugurated on the naked floor beneath the shade of a pomegranate tree in the old Chhattah Wali Masjid of Deoband. Haji Abid Husain was the first to appeal for

contributions to the funds and was also the first to contribute. The first teacher was one Kulla Mahmud and the first pupil was a child Mahmud who later became known as the Shaykh al-Hind. On 19 Muharram 1263 the establishment of the Madrasah was formally announced; the announcement also told that a fund was raised for this purpose and an amount of four hundred and one rupee and eight annas was collected so far which could afford sixteen student's lodging and food. The announcement further said that with the increase of funds more facilities would be provided to more students. Before the passage of one year the number of students reached to seventy-eight and the services of four more teachers were acquired.

Although Haji Abid Husain was the originator of the idea but Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Nanotwi was the real man behind the scheme. He was the Rector or Principal of the Madrasah. He formulated an eight-point modus-operandi for the institution which was based on the principle of Shura and democratic spirit, it also laid down that the participation of the government would be harmful to the institution.

A Majlis-i-Shura was constituted which consisted seven persons including Mawlana Muhammad Qasim, Haji Abid Husain, Shaykh Nihal Ahmad, Mawlana Dhu'l Fiqar Ali and Mawlana Fadl Al-Rahman. All of them belonged to Shah Waliy Allah's tradition. Shaykh Nihal Ahmad was an adherent of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. among very influential personalities of Deoband. The first Professor in charge (Sadr Mudarris) was Mawlana Muhammad Ya qub, the son of Mawlana Mamluk Ali, the well-known disciple of Mawlana

5,
Mawla al-Sir. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was a brilliant scholar and a great genius who master-minded the entire scheme. He was a student of the well-known scholars of Waliy Allah tradition.¹⁰⁾ He was well-abreast with the writings and thought of Shah Waliy Allah.¹¹⁾ He was so much saturated with the thought-pattern of Shah Waliy Allah and his family that Mawlana Abd al-Hayy saw in him another Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il Shahid; his method and style of giving lectures and sermons was akin to the style of Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il.¹²⁾ Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan gives him a higher place than of Shah Muhammad Ishaq in several respects.¹³⁾

Mawlana Muhammad Munir Manawtawi, once a Muhtamim (chief Rector) of Dar al-Ulum and a student of Mufti Sadr al-Din, Mawlana Mamluk Ali and of Shah Abd al-Ghani was also a prominent participant in the jihad of 1857. He was especially appointed military secretary to Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Manawtawi by Haji Imdad Allah.¹⁴⁾¹⁵⁾

A detailed and comprehensive academic genealogical table of the Ulema of Deoband school showing their association with the tradition of Shah Waliy Allah has been given by Anwar al-Hasan¹⁶⁾ Sherkoti. The association with Shah Waliy Allah has been a pride for the scholars of Deoband. They always considered this institution a continuation of Madrasah Rahimiyyah. The well-known expounder of Shah Waliy Allah's thought, Mawlana Nasim Ahmad Faridi Amrohwi wrote a poem "Shah Waliy Allah and Dar al-Ulum Deoband" in which¹⁷⁾ he says "it is the only memorial of Waliy's association in India."

Until 1291 the Dar al-Ulum was housed in various mosques and buildings but they proved to be insufficient to house the growing number of students, teachers and other staff. In the convocation 1291 A.H./1874 A.D. a fund was raised to construct the new building.

of the Dar al-Ulum was made to be a permanent institution to be maintained by the Government. On Friday 10th Dhu'l-Hijjah 1281 the foundation stone was laid for the present permanent building. The ceremony was attended by delegations from all parts of Muslim India. The foundation stone was laid by among others by Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Nanawtawi.¹⁸⁾

Soon after the establishment of Dar al-Ulum a number of Madrasahs were established on its pattern. Some of such Madrasahs were formally affiliated to Dar al-Ulum ~~while~~ while some other preferred to work independently. The annual report of Dar al-Ulum in 1293 also contained the reports about some such Madrasahs which included Mazahir al-Ulum in Saharanpur, Qasim al-Ulum in Muradabad, a Madrasah in each Ambala, district Saharanpur, in Gurgaon, district Buland Shehr and in Muzaffarnagar and two Madrasahs in Thanah Bhawan, district Muzaffarnagar.¹⁹⁾ Of these the Mazahir al-Ulum and Qasim al-Ulum flourished much and won great acclaim. The former was founded in 1283 A.H./1866 with Mawlana Muhammad Mazhar Nanawtawi as its principal and the Madrasah was also named after him. It is to be recalled that Maulana Muhammad Mazhar was among the most prominent scholars of Rahimiyyah tradition. He was a student of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Mawlana Rashid al-Din Khan, Muft. Saad al-Din and Mawlana Mamluk Ali. He had also participated in the jihad 1857 in Thanah Bhawan under the leadership of Haji Imdad Allah. He had got seriously wounded in the battle and had to abscond himself during post 1857 persecutions. During this period²⁰⁾ he had to face many hardships.

It seems that the leaders of this 'educational movement' conceived from the very beginning of setting up a network of such Madrasah at least in the Northern parts of the sub-continent. So

After the establishment of Dar al-Ulum, a large number of Madrasahs came into existence. Between 1900 and 1946 at least thirty Madrasahs were established in United Provinces and Bihar which exist even today. It is most probable that the actual number would have been much higher. The Madrasahs which came into existence in United Provinces and Bihar between 1900 and 1946 and existed at least till 1969 were 187 in number. This rapid growth of the number of Madrasahs shows that the founders of Dar al-Ulum aimed at uniting the masses by creating among them a religious-intellectual consciousness through a well-knit system of Madrasahs. How far they succeeded in their aim forms the subject of an independent study. The effective role the Ulema of Deoband played in the intellectual, political and religious movements of the Sub-continent however, shows the extent of their success.

Although the curriculum adopted by Dar al-Ulum and other such Madrasahs is generally called Dars-i-Nizami but it is considerably different from it. The Dars-i-Nizami as prepared by Mulla Nizam al-Din included only a single collection of Hadith, Mishkat al-Masabih which is in fact a secondary collection of Ahadith based on another secondary collection, Masabih al-Sunnah. The modified curriculum of Dar al-Ulum included eleven collections of Hadith which are mostly original collections. Modifications were also made in other subjects. The Dars-i-Nizami consisted 35 books while the curriculum of Dar al-Ulum consists some 81 books. Shah Waliy Allah had almost excluded Logic and Philosophy from the curriculum of Madrasah Rahimiyyah; his main emphasis was on Quran and Fiqh. Mawlana Rashid Gangohi was also of the opinion that these subjects should be excluded from Dar al-Ulum's curriculum.

had ever influenced the members of Shura to include them in the beginning. But later on these subjects crept into the
²⁴⁾ curriculum. But it is strange that the works of Shah Waliy Allah, e.g. Hujjat Allah al-Balighah, found their place in the curriculum as late as in the early decades of twentieth century. However, its introduction was welcomed and many
²⁵⁾ Professors showed their desire to teaching it.

1. The Ulama of Deoband generally claim that the establishment of Dar al-Ulum Deoband was the revival of Madrasah-i-Rahimmiyyah. E.g. Mufti Aziz al-Rahman, Tadhkirah Masha'ikh-Deoband, Bijnor, 1956, p. 15, Deoband is a small town about twenty two miles south of Saharanpur and about ninety miles north-east of Delhi.
2. Muhammad Miyan, Ulama-i-Haqq, Vol I, p. 73 quoting the monthly Al-Qasim, special issue on Dar al-Ulum, Muharram, 1347 A.H.
3. Muhammad Miyan, op. cit. p. 74.
4. Ibid.
5. The text of these eight points alongwith the original handwriting of Mawlana Muhammad Qasim (in photo) has been given by Sherkoti, Anwar-i-Qasimi, Lahore, 1969, pp. 373-374.
6. Sherkoti, op. cit. pp. 100-101 (7) Muhammad Miyan, op. cit. 6
7. Mhammad Miyan, op. cit. pp. 67-68.
8. Mawlana Rashid al-Din was among the foremost students of Shah Abd al-Aziz and was a renowned scholar.
9. See supra.
10. Sherkoti, Anwar-i-Qasimi, p. 425 quoting Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan,
11. Abd al-Hayy, Dihli Aur us Ke Atraf, pp. 116-117
12. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan Aligarh Institute Gazette, dated 24 April 1880.
13. Sherkoti, op. cit. pp. 45-46 Sherkoti, pp. 45-46
14. Qadiri op. cit. pp. 606-607; also Sherkoti, pp. 45-46.
15. Sherkoti, op. cit. pp. 116-117

15. Ulama-i-Haqq, an edited issue on Shah Waliy Allah, Int. Edition, p. 131. Some lines are:

ساقی رہی کے ستون نے یہ ارمنی دیو بند
دور دورہ سا غر صہبائے حبیبہ کا ہوا
جب لگی بنیاد نے سنا نہ سچو یادگار
دور کئے جام شریعت در کئے سندان عشق
جرمہ خوشن از آئے عطار اندر نثار
کاش اے ساقی دلی تو ہی اگر دیکھتا
یہ خصوصیت یہاں ہر فرد میں ہے آشکار
اچھے نے خانے کی رونق اپنے اندر گہوار
اس کی ہر ہر اینٹ میں تاریخ مافی ثبت ہے
ہند میں نرم دل کی ہے یہ واحد یادگار
شوکتیں جب اہلی مرقم کی آتی ہیں یاد
دیکھ کر اس کو بہل جاتا ہے قلب سگوار

17. For some details, Muhammad Miyan, Ulama-i-Haqq, Vol I, op. cit. pp. 78-80.
18. Rudad Dar al-Ulum, 1293, p. 42; cited in Sherkoti, op. cit. pp. 410-415.
19. Qadiri, Ayyub, Jano-i-Azadi, pp. 603-605; also Sherkoti, op. cit p. 39.
20. Cf. Mushir al-Haq, Musalman Awr Secular Hindustan, Delhi, 1973, pp. 46-50.
21. Ibid. p. 53
22. Mushir al-Haq, Musalman Awr Secular Hindustan, pp. 54-57.
23. Muhammad Miyan, Ulama-i-Haqq, Vol. I, p. 85.
24. Makim Anis Ahmad, Introduction to Barakati, Shah Waliy Allah Awr Unke Khandan, op. cit. p. 12

A SLING SHOT OF THE
ACADEMIC ROLE OF THE SCHOLARS BELONGING TO
WALIY-ALLAHI TRADITION:

We have quoted elsewhere the well-known scholar and freedom fighter, Mufti Inayat Ahmad Kakorwi saying that Shah Waliy Allah is a blessed tree whose branches have provided shelter and shadow to every part of the Sub-continent. Similar remarks have been given by several other scholars from within and outside the Sub-continent. Mulla Rashidi, a Turkish scholar, once wrote to Shah Abd al-Aziz that his (Shah Abd al-Aziz's) influence and prestige in the Islamic world had reached to the point that without his seal and signature no Fatwa received due weight by the ulama of the Islamic world. Mulla Rashidi also said that his migration to Turkey would be an honour to the people ^{there} and the Ottoman Sultan would also receive him with great honour and respect. (1) A similar remark was made by Mawlawi Faqir Muhammad Jehlami, a noted historian and scholar of Waliy-Allahi tradition. He says that seldom any scholar would be found in India and other countries who has not been proudly associated with this house either in academic pursuits or in spiritual attainments. (2) A recent authority, Sayyid Sulayman Nadawi (d. 1953 at Karachi) refers to a prophecy of Shah Waliy Allah himself in which Shah Waliy Allah says that he will be the inaugurator of a new age and the initiator of the efforts of Islamic revivalism. In this connection Sayyid Sulayman Nadawi cites the examples of a fresh enthusiasm for the refutation of religious innovations, a new taste for the translation of Holy Quran, inclusion of the six authentic collections of Hadith in the curriculum, the zeal for Jihad manifested in Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Mawlana Muhammad

Isma'il Shahin, a new sect for the abolition of false denominations, the educational movement of Deoband; all of them, according to Sulayman Nadawi, have their origin in Shah Waliy Allah's master and mother movement. (3)

In the following pages a brief survey is made of the role played by the disciples of Shah Waliy Allah's house in advancing his academic tradition. The role of the Shah Waliy Allah's descendants and his direct students has been discussed in preceding chapters. Here we are confined only to throw light on the work of some of the leading Ulama who graduated under Shah Waliy Allah's descendants or their students.

Of his innumerable disciples, Shah Abd al-Aziz appreciated the work of six of them and took their scholarship in high esteem. Of these six the role of Mawlana Abd al-Hayy Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il and Shah Rafi al-Din has already been discussed. The fourth, Mawlana Murad Ali of Calcutta, had unfortunately given up scholarly pursuits (4) The remaining two we shall presently discuss. They were Mufti Ilahi Bakhsh of Kandhla and Mirza Hasan Ali Saghir of Lucknow. (5)

Mufti Ilahi Bakhsh was born in 1162 A.H. at Kandhla. After getting early education in his hometown he went to Delhi at the age of fourteen. Here he joined the Madrasah Rahimiyyah and completed his advanced education under Shah Abd al-Aziz. In Madrasah Rahimiyyah he was a class fellow of Shah Abd al-Qadir and Shah Ra al-Din, the younger brothers of Shah Abd al-Aziz (6). He was among the most favourite students of the celebrated teacher and enjoyed his affection and confidence. (7) After graduation from the Madrasah Ilahi Bakhsh was appointed a teacher in the Madrasah and started

teaching, under the guidance and patronage of Shah Abd al-Aziz. (8) He also got training of issuing Fatawa (verdicts on Islamic law) under Shah Abd al-Aziz and won the epithet of Mufti.

Mufti Ilahi Bakhsh was also deputed by Shah Abd al-Aziz to stay in the camp of Dabith Khan, the son of Najib al-Dawlah where he was entrusted with the work of teaching and issuing of Fatawa. (9) The Nawab bore all the expenses of the students and disciples of the Mufti and paid great respect to them. Very often he also attended the lectures and accompanied the students in their meals. Mufti Ilahi Bakhsh remained in the Rohilla camp till the death of Dabith Khan. His son, Nawab Sha istah Khan was also very respectful towards the Mufti but the latter preferred to sever his relations with the Rohilla camp now led by Sha istah Khan. (10) Then he was invited to Bhopal where he served as the Mufti for several years alongwith teaching and guiding the students and the disciples. His last years were passed in his home town, Kandhlah, where he remained busy in writing, lecturing and initiating the seekers of spiritual purity in the mystic way.

Mufti Ilahi Bakhsh was a prolific writer. He authored more than fifty books which are mostly unpublished. His most celebrated work is the seventh and the complementary volume of the Mathnawi of Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi. This volume was written in 1216 A.H. and is no less in force, vigor and content than the original six volumes. Mufti Ilahi Bakhsh was so much enchanted by the Mathnawi to the students with an extra-ordinary enthusiasm. He had also translated the first one thousand lines of the Mathnawi in Urdu verse. (11) His other works include mainly treatises on Hadith and Sirah. He also composed a long poem on the Jihad which was published in 1301 A.H.

... of the Shah Abd al-Aziz (12) ...
... Sayyid Ahmed Sharif at the age of twenty seven. He
also wrote a book Fuhamat-i-Ahmad, in which he explained
some aspects of the Sayyid's mysticism. He was so enchanted with
the loving personality of Sayyid Ahmed that he composed poems
in his praise and called him the Mujaddid of the thirteenth
century. (12) He lived for more than a decade after this
association. These ten years of his life were characterised with
a vehement and zealous struggle for the revival of Sunnah and
orthodoxy. This zeal was transferred to his progeny as well. His
sons Mawlana Abu'l Hasan, Mawlana Abu'l Qasim and grand children
Hafiz Muhammad Sabir and Hafiz Muhammad Mustafa were among the
noted disciples of the Sayyid. The last mentioned was among those
who laid their lives alongwith the Sayyid in the battle of
Balakot. (13) Mawlana Abu'l Hasan supported the Sayyid with his
thrilling poems. (14)

The second student of Shah Abd al-Aziz whom he held in high
esteem was Mirza Hasan Ali Saghir al-Maghimi Muhaddith of Lucknow.
He was among the most prominent and favourite students of Shah
Abd al-Aziz who himself said that his model in the teaching of
Hadith had been rightly and perfectly inherited by Mirza Hasan Ali
Saghir. (15) He occupies a prominent position among those who
spread Shah Waliy Allah's thought in Lucknow area. (16) He got his
education in Islamic sciences at the feet of Shah Rafi al-Din and
Shah Abd al-Qadir. He specialized in Hadith under Shah Abd al-Aziz.
While mentioning the most notable students of Shah Abd al-Aziz,
Muhsin Tirihti has given him a place next only to Shah Muhammad
Ishaq. (17) He was a precocious student and had thoroughly
benefited by the valuable library of Shah Abd al-Aziz. During his

...the Shah Waliyullah of Lucknow. His
...Shah Waliyullah, had also prepared a ... edition of
the SUNAN which was, perhaps, lost during the disturbances of
1857. (18).

Lucknow was the center of rational sciences before Mirza
Hasan Ali started his work. The Ulema of Farangi Mahal were also
interested mainly in Fiqh and logic. Mirza Hasan Ali established
his seminary in Yahya Ganj in Lucknow. His lectures on Hadith
changed the academic and intellectual situation in the area and
the emphasis was shifted from Fiqh and logic to Hadith. (19) His
pre-eminent position in the Hadith was hailed by Muhsin Tirihti (20)
and Nawab Siyid Hasan Khan. (21)

Mirza Hasan Ali was also appointed the member of a three-
members committee set up to assist, guide and supervise Mawlana
Sayyid Abd Allah Sirampuri in the work of printing and publishing
the Urdu translation of the Holy Quran made by Shah Abd al-Qadir.
The other two members of the Committee were Mawlana Abd al-Hayy
and Shah Muhammad Ishaq. (22) He also greatly appreciated the Jinnah
movement of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. When the Sayyid visited Lucknow
in the course of his missionary tour of Northern India, Mirza
Hasan Ali paid to him great honour and respect. He invited the
Sayyid several times to his residence for meals and offered Kadhi 23.

He wrote widely on Hadith and other related subjects. Apart
from some small treatises, he edited Al-Jami of Tirmidhi and
appended useful explanatory notes to it. (24) He also edited
Shah Waliy Allah's Izalat al-Khafa in 1249 A.H. (25) His students
number in thousands. Most of the scholars of Hadith in Lucknow,
Awadh and their adjacent areas are connected with Shah Waliy
Allah through Mirza Hasan Ali Saghir. His noted pupils are

Shah Abd al-Aziz and Shah Abd al-Hamid, Mawlana Abd al-Hamid Farangi Mahalli, Mufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah and Mawlana Abd al-Hamid Farangi Mahalli.

Among other noted scholars who got their education under Shah Abd al-Aziz were Mawlana Rashid al-Din Khan, Mufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah, Shah Ra'uf Ahmad Naqshbandi, Mawlana Ghulam Muhy al-Din Bagwi, Mawlana Khurran Ali Balhori, Hafiz Ghulam Ali Chiriyakoti, Faydabadi and Mawlana Fadi Rahman Ganj Muradabadi. These celebrities, alongwith many others, were institutions in themselves. Everyone of them imparted Islamic education to thousands of students. Mawlana Rashid al-Din Khan is an important link between most of the Ulema of Deobandi school and Shah Waliy Allah. (26) Mufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah is generally known as a poet and litterateur. He was one of the teachers of Mawlana Muhammad Qasim, the founder of Dar al-Ulum Deoband.

Shah Ra'uf Ahmad Naqshbandi (1201 - 1249 A.H) was a well known Mufasssir and Muhaddith of Waliyullahi tradition. He combined in himself the wahimiyyah tradition of education and the Mujaddid tradition of mysticism. He got his education under Shah Abd'al-Aziz and was initiated into mysticism by Shah Ghulam Ali Dihlawi, a successor of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Jahan. He wrote several books and treatises in Urdu and Persian on Tafsir, fundamentals of Islam and mysticism. (27) Mawlana Ghulam Muhy al-Din Bagwi (1203-1273/1789-1857) deserves special mention. He served the science of Hadith in the Punjab area for about half a century. He completed his education under Shah Abd al-Aziz and Shah Muhammad Ishaq and came back to Punjab, his home province. He lectured on Hadith in Lahore for about thirty years; he also taught Hadith and Islamic sciences in his home town Baga, near Lahore, for about fourteen

author of the Jihad movement. His life was devoted for the resuscitation of the Sunnah and the extermination of Bid'ah. He wrote a number of treatises for this purpose. He used Urdu language for the propagation of his message. Apart from his Risalah-i-Jihadiyyah, Urdu translations of Masharic al-Anwar and Durr-i-Mukhtar, his works included the Urdu translations of Shah Waliy Allah's Al-Qawl al-Jamil and Shah Abd al-Aziz's Sirr al-Shahadatayn.(29)

Another noted disciple of Shah Abd al-Aziz was Shah Abu Sa'id Dihlawi, a descendent of the Mujaddid. He completed his training in Islamic sciences under Shah Rafi al-Din and was initiated into mysticism by Shah Ghulam Ali Naqshbandi Mujaddidi.⁽³⁰⁾ His son, Shah Abd al-Ghani rose to great prominence in the service of Islamic education specially of Hadith. He graduated from Madrasah Sahimiyyah and specialized in Hadith under his father and Shah Muhammad Ishaq. He used to lecture on Hadith in the city of Delhi. His students include the well known teacher and scholar Mana Mamluk Ali. He extensively wrote on Hadith; his most important work on Hadith is the commentary of the Sunan of Ibn Majah entitled, Inshah al-Majah. After the debacle of 1857 he migrated to the Hijaz and passed the remaining three decades of his life in the vicinity of the House of God and the Haram of the Holy Prophet.⁽³¹⁾

Of Shah Abd al-Aziz's disciples and students, Mawlana Fadl Rahman Ganj Muradabadi also deserves special mention. He was born in 1208/1794 and got his education under Mirza Hasan Ali Muhaddi

Shah Muhammad Isma'il and Shah Abd al-Qadir. He was initiated at the hands of Shah Sa'ad al-Din and Shah Muhammad Isma'il Dihlawi. He lived more than one hundred years and passed about eighty years of his life in preaching and initiating the people in mystic achievements. His disciples number in thousands. (32) The foremost contribution of his disciples and adherents is the foundation of Nadwat al-Ulema, one of the best institutions of Islamic education during last one hundred years. His successor and the most prominent disciple was Mawlana Muhammad Ali Mongiri, the founder of Nadwah. Mawlana Fadi Rahman's disciples included three rectors of the Nadwah, namely: Mawlana Sayyid Abd al-Hayy, Nawab Sayyid Ali Hasan Khan and Mawlana Masih al-Zaman Shahjahanpuri. The present rector of the Nadwah and the well-known scholar and thinker of the Modern world of Islam, Mawlana Sayyid Abu'l Hasan Ali Nadawi, is the son of Mawlana Sayyid Abd al-Hayy and is the author of comprehensive biographies of Mawlana Fadi Rahman and Mawlana Muhammad Ali Mongiri. Other Nadawi disciples of Mawlana Fadi Rahman included Mawlana Luft Allah Aligarhi, one of the founders and teachers of the Nadwah and Munshi Ihtisham Ali Kakori, Financial secretary of the Nadwah. (33).

The students and disciples of other brothers of Shah Abd al-Aziz number in thousand. The most notable among them is the well-known scholar and philosopher, Allamah Fadi-i-Haqq Khayrabad a student of Shah Abd al-Qadir. (34) Miyanji Nur Muhammad was also a student of Shah 'Abd Al-Qadir and a disciple of Shah 'Abd al-Aziz. He was a class Fellow of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. (36) He was also the initiator and spiritual guide of Haji Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki.

Shah Muhammad's Ishaq's students were many in number and some of them were of some importance. Among them Abd al-Din Ishaq studied Fiqh and Hadith under Shah Muhammad Ishaq; he was very pious and saintly person and a deep scholar of Hadith and Fiqh. Being a Nawab he had a good influence in higher government circles. He wrote a number of missionary treatises in Urdu and also translated the well known collection of Hadith, Mishkat al-Masabih into Urdu. (37) This translation proved very useful and popular. (38)

The foremost Muhaddith of Delhi during late eighteenth century, Miyan Nadhir Husayn, was among the most distinguished students of Shah Muhammad Ishaq. He was born in 1220 A.H./1805 A.D. in Surajgarh, near Ferozpur, Bihar. He got his early education of Arabic and Persian at the hands of his father. At the age of sixteen he went to Azimabad where he studied Mishkat al-Masabih and the Holy Quran with translation. Here he met Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his most trusted deputies Mawlana Abd al-Hayy and Mawlana Muhammad Isma'il. (39) Moved by a sermon of Mawlana Isma'il Shahid delivered in Azimabad he went to Delhi where he eventually joined the circle of Shah Muhammad Ishaq in Madrasah Rahimiyyah. Under Shah Muhammad Ishaq he studied monumental works of Hadith including the six well-known collections Sihah, Tafsir al-Jalalyh, Tafsir al-Baydawi, Kanz al-'Ummal and Suyuti's Jami'-i-Sa'ih. He remained for about thirteen years with Shah Muhammad Ishaq; he also served as a teacher in Madrasah Rahimiyyah under Shah Muhammad Ishaq's supervision and guidance. (40)

After Shah Muhammad Ishaq's migration to Arabia, Miyan Nadhir Husayn established his independent seminary in Delhi. In the beginning he lectured on Hadith, Tasir and Fiqh and used to

five hundred sessions or more. He based his lectures on Tafsir on the Urdu translation of the Holy Quran made by Shaykh Abd al-Qadir. (41) Since 1276 A.H. he confined to lecture on Hadith and Tafsir only. (42) He taught Hadith and other Islamic sciences for more than sixty years. (43) His students include Hafiz Abu Muhammad Ibrahim Arwi, Mawlawi Muhammad Hayat Sindi, Mawlana Thana 'Allah Amratsari, Shams al-'Ulama Dr. Mawlawi Nazir Ahmed, Mawlawi 'Abd al-Halim Sharar and Mawlana Wahid.

Miyan Nadhir Husayn established a shining circle of Hadith studies in the subcontinent. The circles of his students and students' students produced such luminaries of Hadith studies as Mawlana Wahid al-Zaman, Mawlana Abd al-Rahman Mubarakpuri and Mawlana Shams al-Haq Azimabadi. Mawlana Wahid al-Zaman's role in popularizing the Hadith and Quran cannot be belittled. He translated into Urdu the most authentic collections of Hadith like Bukhari's Sahih, Malik's Muwatta, Muslim's Sahih, Abu Daud's Sunan, Tirmidhi's Sunan and Ibn Majah's Sunan. He also prepared an index of the Quran entitled Takwim al-Quran; he also prepared dictionaries to facilitate the direct study of the Quran and the Hadith. (45) Mawlana 'Abd al-Rahman Mubarakpuri (d. 1353 A.H) is universally known for his elaborated commentary on the Jami of Tirmidhi. (46) while Shams al-Haq 'Azimabadi is known for his great commentary on the Sunan of Abu Da'ud. (47) Miyan Nadhir Husayn's students also included Mawlana Amir Hasan sahsawani (d. 1291/1875) who was also a student of Shaykh Abd al-Ghani and Mufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah. His main contribution was the refutation of Christian missionaries. (48) His student, Mawlawi 'Abd al-Bari Sahsawani, was also an enthusiastic theologian who refuted Christian missionaries. (49)

The excellent tradition of assimilation for service, piety and spiritual accomplishment was most strikingly manifested in the personalities of Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Nanawtawi. We have already discussed briefly the work of the latter. Mawlana Rashid Ahmad was born in 1244 A.H./ 1226-27 A.D. He got his early education under Mawlana Mamluk Ali and Mufti Sadr al-Din Azurdah. He specialized in Hadith under Shah 'Abd al-Ghani and was initiated into spiritual attainments by Haji Imdad Allah. He wrote extensively on Hadith, Fiqh and Tasawwuf. He issued hundreds and thousands of Fatawa; on several occasions he provided proper guidance to the Muslims of the subcontinent through his Fatawa. Once a doubt was created in the minds of some people about the legal position of India, whether or not it was a Dar al-Harb. Mawlana Rashid Ahmad issued a lengthy Fatwa in which he established with irrefutable arguments that the legal position of India could only be that of Dar al-Harb. (50)

Mawlana Rashid Ahmad lectured on Hadith for more than half a century. He initiated thousands of disciples into mysticism. His lectures on Hadith were compiled by his student-disciple, Mawlana Muhammad Yahya. The lectures on Tirmidhi have been edited and published by Mawlana Muhammad Zakariyya under the title Al-Kawkab al-Durri while the lectures on Bukhari have been edited and published under the title Lami' al-Darari. Mawlana Rashid Ahmad's students disciples number in thousands. The most noted are Mawlana Khalil Ahmad, Mawlana Siddiq Ahmad, Mawlana 'Abd al-Rahim Raipuri, Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan and Mawlana Husayn Ahmad. (51) Among these the first, Mawlana Khalil Ahmad deserves special mention. He is among the most prominent Muhaddithin of the school

of England.

During his early childhood Mawlana Khalil Ahmad got English education.(52) When Dar al-'Ulum Deoband was established and his maternal uncle, Mawlana Muhammad Ya qub Nanawtawi was appointed as its Professor in charge (Sadr Mudarris), Mawlana Khalil Ahmad gave up English education and joined the Dar al-'Ulum.(53) After the establishment of Madrasah Mazahir al-'Ulum in Saharanpur, he came to Saharanpur and completed his education in Mazahir al-'Ulum. He specialized in Hadith under Mawlana Muhammad ~~Razhar~~ Nanawtawi.(54) Later on he also benefited in Hadith with the company of Mufti 'Abd al-Qayyum Budhanwi, son of Mawlana 'Abd al-Hayy and the student and son-in-law of Mawlana Shah Muhammad Ishaq.(55) Later on further, when he visited Arabia he got a sanad and permission (Ijazah) of all works of Hadith from Shah Abd al-Ghani.(56) After completing his education in 1268 A.H. he turned to Mawlana Rashid Ahmad for spiritual accomplishment. He was initiating into mystic practices and disciplines by Mawlana Rashid Ahmad who also granted him Khilafah.(57) In 1298 A.H/1881 A.D. ~~he~~ when he performed his second Hajj he was also granted Khilafah by Hajj Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki.(58)

Mawlana Khalil Ahmad passed his entire life in teaching and serving the Hadith. He taught in Manglore, Bhopal, Sikandarabad, Bhawalpur, Bareilly, Deoband and Saharanpur. Along with the teaching he also keep on preaching and missionary work.(59) He taught for more than half a century.(60) For thirty years he taught Hadith in Mazahir al-'Ulum, Saharanpur and during this period about four hundred Ulema were graduated under him.(61) Among his students the noted are Mawlana Muhammad Zakariyya

Mawlana Muhammad Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Mawlana Muhammad Loris
Kandhlawi Mawlana Baqr-i-'Alam, Mawlana Ashfaq al-Rahman,
Mawlana Fayy al-Haseen sangranpuri and Mawlana Abd al-Shakur
Kamilpuri. (62)

Mawlana Khalil Ahmad extensively wrote on Hadith and
theology. His writings on the refutation of Bid'ah caused harsh
criticism from some ~~big~~ circles of Ulema! His most original
contribution is his celebrated commentary on the sunan of Abu
Da'ud entitled, Badhl al-Maihud fi Halli Abi Da'ud. (63) Mawlana
Khalil Ahmad's piety, sincerity and deep insight in Islamic
sciences was also hailed by the scholars from the scholars
outside India even during his life time. Sayyid Rashid Rida
was very much impressed by his balanced outlook, broadmindedness,
sincerity and insight. He said he would never forget the Mawlana
~~xxxxxxx~~ whose equal in these characteristics was not seen
by him in India. (64)

The encyclopaedia knowledge of Hadith possessed by Mawlana
Khalil Ahmad was inherited by his brilliant pupils Mawlana
Muhammad Zakariyyah and Mawlana Anwar Shah Kashmiri. The former
is popularly known as the Shaykh al-Hadith for his extra-
ordinary services for the dissemination of Hadith studies in the
subcontinent. He got his early education under his father,
Mawlana Muhammad Yahya, a student and disciple of Mawlana Rashid
Ahmad Gangohi. He specialized in Hadith under his father and under
Mawlana Khalil Ahmad. (65) Soon he was associated with Mawlana
Khalil Ahmad as his assistant to assist his great teacher in the
writing of Badhl al-Maihud. (66) He also started teaching in

Mawlana al-'Ulum al-'Ulum A.H. 1271 and he spent most of his life in Deoband for about sixty years. He profusely wrote on Hadith, Qur'an and other Islamic subjects. Apart from writing a number of books and treatises (67) and editing the lectures of Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, he wrote the voluminous commentary of the Muwatta of Imam Malik, entitled Awiaz al-Masalik: it was first published in six volumes in Saharanpur and now it has recently been published in Cairo in twenty-volumes. His paternal uncle and a disciple of Mawlana Rashid Ahmad, Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas, is universally known as the founder of the world-wide Tablighi movement.(68)

The other noted student of Mawlana Khalil Ahmad was Mawlana Anwar Shah Kashmiri. He also studied under Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan.(69) He taught Hadith in Deoband and Dabhel and was considered as one of the foremost scholars of Hadith in Muslim India. His students compiled his lectures on Hadith in eleven big volumes. Although Mawlana Anwar Shah studied under Mawlana Khalil Ahmad but his main teacher was Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan, generally known as Shaykh al-Hind.

Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan got his education under Mawlana Muhammad Ya qub and Mawlana Muhammad Qasim.(70) During his visit to Arabia he was also awarded a Sanad by Shah Abd al-Ghani and was awarded the Khilafah by Haji Imdad Allah.(71) In 1266 he was appointed as a Junior teacher in Dar al-'Ulum Deoband and was soon promoted as a teacher of Hadith. In the teaching of Hadith he strictly followed the methodology of Shah Waliy Allah and Shah 'Abd al-Aziz and tried to synthesize the conflicting views of the Fuqaha' and the Muhaddithin. He profusely quoted Shah Waliy Allah during his lectures.(72) He wrote several treatises on Fiqh,

Hadith and Tafsir. He first revised the Urdu translation of the Holy Quran made by Shah Abd al-Qadir and made the language upto-date; he appended useful marginal notes to it as well. His works on Hadith include a treatise on the explanation of Bukhari's titles of chapters (Tarajim al-Abwab), a critical edition of Abu Da'ud's Sunan ⁷³⁾ and lectures on Hadith which were compiled by a number of his students. (74) Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan also took part in the politics of Muslim India and the Muslim world. He is the founder of Jam'iyyah al-Ansar, a semi-political organization which was the forerunner of Jam'iyyat-i-Ulama-i-Hind. His prominent students are Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanwi, Mawlana Husayn Ahmad, Mufti Kifayat Allah, Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, Mawlana Ahmad Ali (75) and Mawlana Shabbir Ahmad 'Uthmani.

Among these Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanwi rose to great prominence and achieved the highest degree of popularity. He was the culmination of the movement started under Mujaddid to assimilate and synthesize the Shari'ah and the Tariqah. He had studied under Mawlana Muhammad Ya'qub and Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan and was awarded the Khilafah by Haji Imdad Allah. He was regarded as the most celebrated successor of Haji Imdad Allah in Tariqah and spiritual initiation. He revived the Khandaq of his guid in 1315 A.H. and initiated the people in mystic way for about half a century. His scholarly stature was no less higher.

Few scholars in Muslim history can compete him in the number and variety of works. According to Aziz al-Rahman the number ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ of his books is three hundred and forty five while his compiled and published speeches also exceed three hundred. (76) Since the very beginning he was very critical of Gandhi and Indian National Congress. His support for Muslim

Another prominent student of Shaykh al-Hind was Lawana Shabbir Ahmad 'Uthmani whose high stature of scholarship in Hadiith and Tafsir was perhaps, eclipsed by his prominence in politics. His urdu commentary of the Quran and the Arabic commentary of the Sahih of Muslim (78) are living proof of his deep learning and encyclopaedic knowledge. He was one of the top leaders of All-India Muslim League and worked for Pakistan alongwith his others colleagues from among the circle of Lawana Abdullah al-Tadawi.

This is only a glimpse of the great services made to preserve the Islamic education and knowledge in the best and favourable conditions by the scholars of Waliullahi tradition. A thorough survey of these historic efforts would require a more exercise and an independent study. The real genius of Shah Waliullah and extent of his religious intellectual and educational impacts upon subsequent generations can only be rightly assessed after this thorough and separate study.

about 100 ft. above the water level.

1. Cf. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Letter to 'Abd al-'Aziz, ed. by Munim Baghsh Shibli, Hayat-i-Hali, Lahore, 1911, pp. 11-12.
2. Badir Muhammad Denlani, Haqa'iq al-Munawwarah, Lahore, 1309 A.H. / 1891 A.D. p. 470.
3. Sulayman Nadawi, Hayat-i-Shibli, pp. 298 - 299.
4. Shah Abd al-Aziz, Malfuzat (Urdu translation), Karachi, p. 95.
5. Ibid.
6. Ihtisham al-Hasan Kandhlawi, Halat-i-Masha'ikh-i-Kandhlah, Delhi, n.d., pp. 54-57.
7. Ibid. pp. 51-52.
8. Ibid. p. 53.
9. Ibid. pp. 63-64.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. p. 69.
12. Ibid. pp. 92-93.
13. Abu'l Hasan Ali Nadawi, Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Rashedi, Vol. II Lahore, 1975.
14. One such poem has been quoted by Ghulam Rasul Mir, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, Vol. I p. 242; also Ihtisham al-Hasan, op. cit. pp. 129-143.
15. Cf. Abu'l Hasan Ali Nadawi, op. cit.
16. Ayyub Qadiri, Ed. 'Ilm wa 'Amal, Vol I, Karachi, 1960, p. 2.
17. Muhsin Tirihti, Al-Yani' al-Jani, Jayyid Press, Delhi, 1349 A.H. p. 77.
18. Cf. Shams al-Haqq 'Azimabadi, 'Awn al-Ma'bud, Delhi, 1323 A.H. Vol iv, p. 553.
19. 'Abd al-Halim Chishti, Mirza Hasan 'Ali Saghir Muhaddith Lakhnawi, in Ma'arif, Azamgarh, December, 1956, pp. 531-532.

20. Tadhkirat al-Ulama, op. cit.
21. Bashir Ahmad, Ulama-i-Hind, Ahmad, 1960 A.D. pp. 111, 112.
22. Cf. Introduction to Lucip-i-Muran (title of the translation and brief explanatory notes), Ahmadi Press, Calcutta, 1254 A.H./1838 A.D.
23. Tadhkirah Ulama'-i-Hind, (Urdu translation) Karachi, 1961, pp. 160-161.
24. 'Abd al-Rahman Kubarakpuri, Tuhfat al-Ahwadhi, Jayyid Press, Delhi,
25. Cf. Al-Rahim, October-November, 1965, p. 373.
26. For a short biographical note, Bashir al-Din, Ma'arif, Vol. II, p. 409.
27. For biographical notes, Rahman 'Ali, Tadhkirat 'Ulama-i-Hind pp. 190-199; Fahir Muhammad Jehlami, Ma'arif al-Manafiyah, pp. 472-473; Lahori, Ghulam Sarwar, Khazinat al-Asfiya', Vol. I, pp. 703 - 704.
28. Cf. Rahman Ali, op. cit. p. 370; Fahir Muhammad op. cit. pp. 476-478.
29. Ma'arif, Azamgarh, May - July, 1957; also 'Abd al-Hayy, Nuzhat al-Khawatir Vol. VII, pp. 158-159; Rahman Ali, op. cit. pp. 170 - 179.
30. Rahman Ali, op. cit. pp. 75-76; Jehlami, op. cit. pp. 471-47. Bashir Ahmad, op. cit. pp. 393-394; Lahori, op. cit. pp. 701-703; Nuzhat al Khawatir, Vol. VII, pp. 13 - 14.
31. Nuzhat al-Khawatir, Vol. VII, pp. 289-290; Jehlami, op. cit. pp. 490-491 Rahman 'Ali, op. cit. p. 310.

32. Tadhkirah Ulama-i-Hind, Vol. I, Part I, p. 100.
33. Tadhkirah Ulama-i-Hind, Vol. I, Part I, p. 100.
34. Tadhkirah Ulama-i-Hind, Vol. I, Part I, p. 100.
35. 'Aziz al-Rahman, Tadhkirah Mashayikh-i-Deoband, Bijner, 1958, pp. 38-39.
36. Ibid. p. 41.
37. This translation was entitled Mazahir-i-Haqq.
38. Bashir Ahmad, Waqi'at-i-Dar al-Hukumat Dihli, Vol II, p.324.
39. Nuzhat al-Khawahir, Vol. VIII, p. 497.
40. Muhammad Ibrahim Mir Siyalkoti, Tarikh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Lahore, 1953, pp. 425 - 427.
41. Ibid; also Bashir Ahmad, op. cit. pp. 257-264.
42. Bashir Ahmad, op. cit.
43. Muhammad Ishaq, India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature, Dacca, 1955, pp. 164 - 165.
44. Muhammad Ibrahim Mir, op. cit. pp. 432 - 433.
45. For a comprehensive biography, 'Abd al-Halim Chishti, Siyat-i-Sahid al-Zaman.
46. Abd al-Rahman Mubarakpuri, Tuhfat al-Ahwadhi fi Shah Jari' al-Tirmidhi Delhi, 4 Vols. ; 1346-1353 A.H. also reprinted in Beirut.
47. Shams al-Haqq 'Awn al-Ma'bud fi Sharh Abi Da'ud, Delhi, 1323 A.H.
48. Tadhkirah Ulama-i-Hind, p. 563
49. Ibid. p. 576.

47. Muhammad Iqbal, 'Alone', Lucknow, 1936 A.D., gives extracts of the fatwa.
48. Muhammad Thani Hasani, Nayat-i-Khalif, Lucknow, 1936 A.D. pp. 27-28.
49. Ibid. p. 78.
50. Ibid. p. 79.
51. Ibid. pp. 82-84.
52. Ibid. pp. 84-86.
53. Ibid. p. 86.
54. Ibid. pp. 102-103.
55. Ibid. p. 138.
56. For details, see chapter V Ibid.
57. He had started teaching 1281 A.H., and taught till 1344 A.H.
58. Muhammad Thani Hasani, op. cit. Vol I p. 261.
59. A list of 21 noted students of Mawlana Khalil Ahmad has also been given in ibid. pp. 264 - 265.
- 60.
61. Yusuf Hashi, Rihlat al-Imam Muhammad Rashid Rida, Beirut, p. 79.
62. Muhammad Thani Hasani, Sawanib hadrat Mawlana Muhammad Yusuf Kanuhlawi, Lucknow, 1967 pp. 80 - 85.
63. Ibid. pp. 84-85.
64. The details of his written work can be seen in his own Ab Biti, 3 Vols, Saharanpur, n.d.
65. For the details of this movement, Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Nadwi, Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas Awar Unki Dini Da'wat, op. cit.
66. Muhammad Yusuf Bannori, Nafhat al-Anbar, Karachi, 1969, p.6

71. Asghar Husayn, Hajrat-i-Muhyi-us-Sunnat, Delhi, 1940, pp. 10 - 11.
72. Ibid. p. 14
73. Ibid. p. 26
74. Published in Muftaba'i Press, Delhi, 1318 A.H.
75. Asghar Husayn, op. cit. pp. 184 - 187.
76. Aziz al-Rahman, Tadhkirah Ashraf Ali Thanwi, Bijnor, 1958, pp. 205 - 206.
77. Ibid. p. 285.
78. For a fuller discussion of his role in this regard, Ahmad Sa'id Hawnani Ashraf Ali Thanwi Aww Sadd-i-Jiho-i-Azad Lahore, 1974
79. This is entitled Fath al-Mulhim fi Sharh Sahih al-Muslim, Hyderabad.

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